

**An essay on the physical, moral, and political reformation of the  
Jews ; a work crowned by the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences  
at Metz / by the Abbe Gregoire**

Call Number: Bg20s 789gg

Creator: Gregoire, Henri, 1750-1831

Language: English

Date: [1791]

Publisher: Printed for C. Forster ... and sold by J. Stock

Subjects: Jews --Emancipation --Early works to 1800

Judaism --Apologetic works --Early works to 1800

Genre: Marginalia

Type of Resource: text

Physical Description: 1 vol.

20 cm.

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*Rooselbridge*  
AN  
E S S A Y  
ON THE  
PHYSICAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL  
REFORMATION  
OF THE  
J E W S;

A Work crowned by the ROYAL SOCIETY  
of ARTS and SCIENCES at METZ.

BY THE ABBE GRÉGOIRE,  
A MEMBER OF THAT SOCIETY.

---

Dedisti nos tanquam oves escarum, et in gentibus disperdisti  
nos. PSAL. 43.

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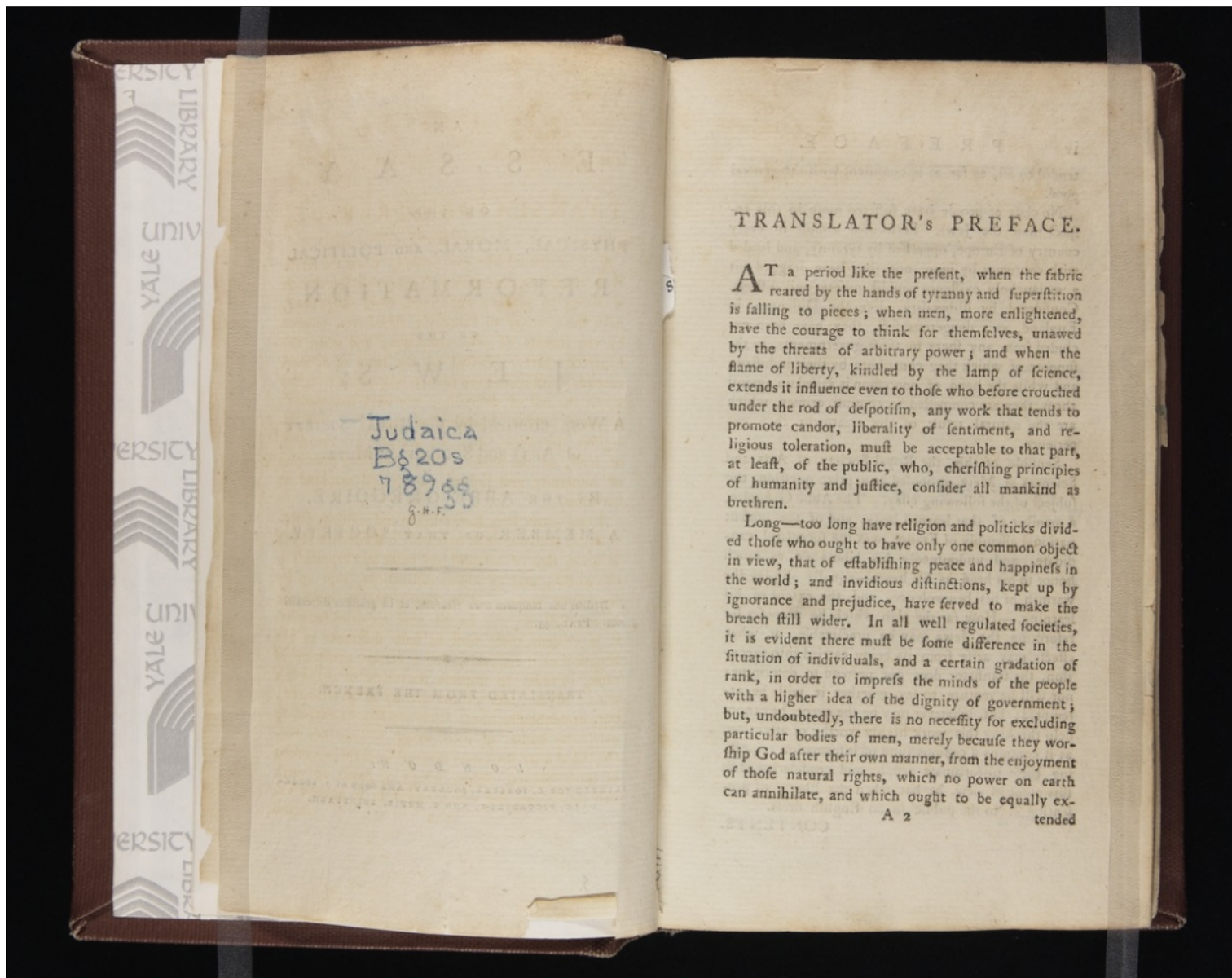
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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[Title page verso-iii]

iv P R E F A C E.

tended to all, as far as is consistent with the general good.

No class of people have suffered more in this respect than the Jews. Persecuted almost in every country of Europe, oppressed by tyranny, and loaded with contempt by ignorance, they have dragged out a melancholy existence amidst misery and distress. Considered by illiberality, like the Dissenters in England, as a dangerous sect, they have been excluded from any share in those governments, to the support of which they contribute by their industry; and while the hand of oppression is raised up against them, they are compelled to commit crimes, which are the natural result of the treatment they experience.

Sensible of this, the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences at Metz, proposed as a prize question, the subject of the following essay. The Abbé Grégoire, a member of that learned body, and of the present national assembly of France, was the successful candidate, and undoubtedly his labors do as much honor to his head as his heart—equally display the warmth of his benevolence, and the extent of his learning.—How far the plan which he proposes for reforming the Jews may be practicable, or what effects may arise from its being carried into execution, the translator does not pretend to determine; nor will he venture to say, whether it will be attempted; but, whatever may be the event, he cannot help thinking this work highly worthy of attention, as it contains a copious fund of information respecting these unfortunate people, and considering it in this point of view, he has taken the liberty of presenting it to the public in an English dress.

CONTENTS.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER I.	
<i>GENERAL Considerations on the State of the Jews, since their Dispersion to the present Time</i>	1
CHAPTER II.	
<i>Reflections on the Dispersion of the Jews</i>	17
CHAPTER III.	
<i>Refutation of several Calumnies which were thrown out against the Jews in the middle ages</i>	21
CHAPTER IV.	
<i>Causes of the reciprocal Hatred between the Jews and other Nations</i>	30
CHAPTER V.	
<i>Constant Uniformity of Opinions and Customs among the Jews. Modification of their Character</i>	34
CHAPTER VI.	
<i>Reflections on the Moral Character of the Jews. The greater Part of their Vices arise from the Oppression under which they have laboured</i>	40
CHAPTER VII.	
<i>Reflections on the physical Constitution of the Jews.</i>	55
CHAPTER VIII.	
<i>Excessive Population of the Jews. The Causes of it</i>	66
CHAPTER.	



vi	C O N T E N T S.	
	C H A P. IX.	
	<i>The Danger of tolerating the Jews in their present State, on Account of their Population</i>	73
	C H A P. X.	
	<i>The Danger of tolerating the Jews in their present State, on Account of their Aversion to other People, and of their relaxed Morals</i>	89
	C H A P. XI.	
	<i>Danger of tolerating the Jews in their present State, on Account of their Commerce and usurious Practices</i>	88
	C H A P. XII.	
	<i>In what Manner the Jews became a commercial People, and Usurers</i>	101
	C H A P. XIII.	
	<i>Means hitherto employed to suppress the usurious Practices of the Jews. Insufficiency of these Means</i>	109
	C H A P. XIV.	
	<i>New Means proposed to suppress the Usury of the Jews</i>	115
	C H A P. XV.	
	<i>Possibility of reforming the Jews. This Reformation may be reconciled with their Manners, their Prejudices, and their religious Principles</i>	124
	C H A P. XVI.	
	<i>The same Subject continued</i>	134
	C H A P.	

vii	C O N T E N T S.	
	C H A P. XVII.	
	<i>Is it possible to train up the Jews to the Arts and Trades, and to Agriculture?</i>	141
	C H A P. XVIII.	
	<i>Is it possible to form the Jews to the military Art. Review of this Chapter, and the two preceding</i>	151
	C H A P. XIX.	
	<i>The proposed Reformation is agreeable to the Views of Christianity; on the contrary, it may be reconciled with the political and civil Laws of Nations, and with their Interests</i>	157
	C H A P. XX.	
	<i>What Effects the Laws lately made in Favor of the Jews by neighboring Nations have produced; and what may be inferred from them. What Influence a Reformation of the Jews will have over National Commerce; and the Question examined, whether this Reformation will change what is most commendable in their Moral Constitution</i>	169
	C H A P. XXI.	
	<i>Considerations on the Commerce of the Jews, and the Bounds which ought to be set to it</i>	178
	C H A P. XXII.	
	<i>It is very impolitic to assign separate Quarters for the Jews, as they ought to be dispersed among the Christians</i>	183
	C H A P.	



viii CONTENTS.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Whether the Jews ought to be suffered to live according to their own Laws, or to be deprived of that Privilege* — 189

CHAP. XXIV.

*On the Admission of the Jews to Civil Offices, to Nobility, and into Academies. Of their Education, and the Acquisition of Landed Property* — 201

CHAP. XXV.

*Considerations on the Nature and Causes of the Prejudices of the Jews. In what Manner they are to be remedied* — 213

CHAP. XXVI.

*Must the Jews be compelled to adopt the Means proposed to reform them? The Necessity of preparing both the Jews and the Christians for this Event. The Time that will be required to bring it about* — 228

CHAP. XXVII

*Review of the Whole. Conclusion.* — 237  
*Notes* — 241

A N

(A N)

ESSAY

ON THE

PHYSICAL, MORAL, AND POLITICAL

REFORMATION

OF THE

J E W S.

CHAPTER I.

*General Considerations on the State of the Jewish People, from their Dispersion till the present Time.*

SINCE the reign of Vespasian, the history of the Jews is a continued series of the most distressful scenes and bloody tragedies: eleven hundred thousand of them perished during the siege of Jerusalem; two hundred and thirty-seven thousand more lost their lives in defending Jopata, or combating in the plains of Palestine; and that country, before flourishing, laid waste by the demon of war, was converted into a solitude covered with  
B dead

( 2 )

dead bodies and ruins. These miserable people then saw their temple burned, their cities rased, their capital reduced to ashes, and their body politic dissolved. Become the sport of fortune, and outcasts from the earth, always tossed about between death and the sword, they imagined that the measure of their calamities was compleated; but in this they were deceived. A Roman Emperor still added to the preceding cruelties: fire, famine, and the sword destroyed nearly four millions of Jews under the reign of Adrian, comprehending five hundred and eighty thousand butchered in the revolt of Barchochebas (1); and the few who escaped were deprived of the consolation of contemplating, even at a distance, the ruins of Jerusalem trod under foot by the Gentiles. Before this period, they were seen, covered with rags, traversing midst sighs and lamentations the Mount of Olives and the remains of their temple. They were reduced to the necessity of being economists in their misery (2), to purchase this favor from the avarice of the soldiery. At this price they obtained as a singular indulgence, permission to go thither and

(1) The Notes will be found at the End of the Text.

weep

( 3 )

weep on the anniversary of the sacking of their city; and the Jews were obliged to pay for the right of shedding tears in those places where they had purchased and shed the blood of Jesus Christ.

To add to their disaster, they were forced to quit for ever a country to which they were attached by so many strong ties, and which the most powerful attractions rendered dear to their hearts. In tearing themselves from those spots which had been the scenes of their earliest years, to which they continually turned their eyes, but which they were never again to behold, they dispersed themselves into every corner of the globe to beg for shelter. With trembling they went to kiss the feet of nations who raised them up only to oppress them, and among whom they escaped torture merely because they were despised; their sighs even were considered as the voice of rebellion; and popular fury, kindled up like a conflagration, overran whole provinces to massacre them. They were afraid of seeing the horrid butchery of Alexandria and Cæsarea renewed, when the moments necessary for the executioners to breathe were the only intervals in which they were not exposed to carnage.

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Amidst



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Amidst these horrors, the sovereign authority sometimes beheld them with an eye of peace, and the Jews, more or less harrassed under the Pagan Princes, had often occasion to be thankful for the good will of the Christian Emperors towards them, till the time of Theodosius II. Honorius had even granted them liberty of conscience; but his edict, and several others inserted in the Theodosian code, by forbidding the Jews to be oppressed, clearly proves that they were ill-treated. Their privileges were only momentary concessions, from which they derived no other advantage than that of not being accounted beasts of burden. Besides, the weakness of the Roman empire, borne down by its own weight, had enervated the laws, and popular hatred, never extinguished by ordonances, not being suppressed by force, continually renewed its persecutions, which were even permitted and authorized by legislators.

If ever any people, who emigrated from the north to the south, deserved the name of barbarians, the Wisigoths are undoubtedly entitled to that appellation. Feeling reader, open their code (3), and you will there find written in bloody characters, what ferocious minds dictated

( 5 )

rated against a people whom they styled a *detestable* sect, because they were detested, and whom they sunk to a rank, I had almost said, below that of brutes.

When other nations became occupied with their own misfortunes, their hatred against the Jews subsided, and the Hebrew people were exposed then only to common misfortunes: they enjoyed a few moments of peace; but the rage of their enemies, laid asleep for some time, was revived during the Crusades, and the population of the Jews seemed to have encreased only to furnish new victims. At Rouen they were slaughtered without regard to sex or age (4); fifteen hundred of them were burnt at Strasburgh; thirteen hundred at Mayence (5); and the flames being communicated to the city, it was in great danger of being reduced to ashes. At Treves and York the Jews themselves stabbed their wives and children, saying, that they chose rather to send them to Abraham's bosom, than to deliver them into the hands of the Christians; and as they could fly into no quarter without being exposed to certain death, they resolved to destroy them themselves, in order that they might escape those torments which were pre-

B 3

pared



( 6 )

pared for them. Twelve thousand, according to Aventin, were slaughtered in Bavaria (6). All Europe, and chiefly Germany, became a theatre of cruelty; in a word, the wars of Outremer, which so many people judge of from hearsay, are considered in the Jewish history as the most disastrous epoch after the destruction of Jerusalem. St. Bernard, after preaching in support of the Crusades, was extremely zealous in exclaiming against the cruelty of the Crusaders; and not contented with writing very pathetic letters on this subject (7), he hastened to Germany, where he afforded an efficacious protection to the Jews, by the influence which his character, learning, and virtues gave him.

The clergy are often accused of entertaining a spirit of persecution: this assertion is easily made, and numbers of people delight to repeat it, without having a just idea of toleration, and even without being able to distinguish the different acceptations of the word. Were this accusation as true as it is false, the history of the Jews would furnish us with an exception. Though continually persecuted, they were seldom persecuted by the clergy; for we must not judge of their spirit from that of the

( 7 )

the Spanish Inquisition: Were it even proved that St. Cyrille of Alexandria, misled by an inconsiderate zeal, treated them with cruelty in that city (8), from one error ought we to draw a general conclusion? If an Agobard of Lyons, irritated against the Jews (9), is quoted to us, we can mention a Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont, intimately connected with them, and adding one good office to another in their favor; a Ferreol, Bishop of Uzès, admitting them to his table, and loading them with presents; a St. Hilary, of Arles, regretted by the Jews, who in crowds attended his funeral, mingled their tears with those of the Christians, and chanted Hebrew hymns in honor of his memory (10). At Mayence and Spire, we shall find prelates sheltering them from the fury of the Crusaders, and causing the assassins to be hanged. Basnage is undoubtedly carried away by the force of truth, when he boasts of the constant humanity of the Popes towards the Jews, who have sometimes repaid them with ingratitude. The enlightened zeal of Peter's successors protected the remains of Israel; and we must admire the courage with which St. Gregory the Great armed himself in their defence. We read

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also

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also with pleasure an epistle of Alexander II. addressed to the Bishops of France, who had condemned the outrages exercised against the Jews; and this monument will do eternal honor to the memory of the Roman Pontiff and of the French bishops. In 1235, Gregory IX. wrote in their favor to St. Louis. Two other letters of his, addressed to all Christians, pass a severe censure upon those who, under the cloak of religion, concealed their avarice in order to harass the Jews; and he there bids them copy the example of his predecessors, who had declared themselves their defenders. In 1247, Innocent IV. wrote to vindicate them from those crimes which were laid to their charge; and said, that they were more miserable under Christian princes than their forefathers had been under Pharaoh (11). Whilst they were massacred without mercy in every part of Europe, Avignon became their asylum; and Clement VI. their protector, omitted nothing that could tend to soften the lot of the persecuted, and to disarm the fury of their persecutors.

When the feudal system was established, the Jews, involved in the revolutions of other people, changed like them their existence in civil

( 9 )

civil society. After the ninth century they began in every part of Europe to wear the chains of slavery, which subjected them to as many tyrants as there were lords. Let us hear what the author of a work, entitled *Public Felicity*, says; nothing can be more happily expressed than the following passage: "Under the feudal government, the Jews "paid enormous capitations; when any of "them wished to become a Christian, he "was permitted; but he was obliged to "indemnify his lord: he was a soul rescued "from hell, but a body to re-imburse the "world. Such was the oppressive spirit "which then prevailed, when a conversion "was considered as a bankruptcy, and when "even paradise did not possess the right of "asylum." (12) What dreadful injustice, to confiscate the wealth of these unfortunate people, when they were converted, and to torment them when they continued firmly attached to their religion! The sovereigns of some countries, above all, the Emperors of Germany, often contested with particular princes, and various states of the empire, the right of receiving the Jews; by the golden bull, it was entirely confined to the electors.

Had



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Had the policy of potentates been more penetrating, they would have prudently opposed the Jews to the plundering and untractable spirit of their great vassals, who often revolted, and were always disposed to rebellion. With more intelligence and energy, Louis the Mild, an avowed protector of the Jewish nation, by whom he was beloved; might have with much advantage moved that spring, which in the course of time was in part the cause of the creation of the third estate.\* This is a paradoxical truth, which at present we can only mention, reserving the full explanation of it till a future opportunity.

Servitude did not always prevent the Jews from becoming the possessors of land. We even find that in France they were the owners of vast domains; (13) but it may be readily perceived, that it was a matter of no great difficulty to deprive those of their wealth, who were not masters of their own persons. The Crusaders had destroyed the Jews, under the name of religion, in order to acquire some right to plunder them, and their usurious practices, which were too real,

\* *Tiers-état.*—T.

served

( 11 )

served as a pretence to princes to plunder them in their turn. Avarice sometimes suspended the paroxysms of its hatred; a policy equally absurd as barbarous, calculated how much more it could extort from them by oppression; and lastly, hatred united to avarice, killed that goose which laid the golden eggs, and then perceived that they had formed their calculations erroneously.

They generally first confiscated their estates, and after beginning by these, Philip Augustus, who banished them from France to recall them again, permitted them to sell their personal property only; but the people taking advantage of the circumstances of the moment, refused to purchase them, or to pay for them. These poor people were even stripped of the small quantity of money which they had remaining, (14) and several of them perished for want of food. The reigns of three of our kings, Philip Augustus, Philip the Handsome, and Philip the Tall, are marked with characters of blood in the annals of the Jews. (15) Justice, if we can honor it with that name, sharpened the sword, and gave the signal of bloodshed and slaughter. The Jews of Bretagne having ruined the



( 12 )

the farmers, undoubtedly incurred the animadversion of government; but we nevertheless shudder when we read the edict published in 1239, by John le Roux, the Duke of that Province, on the requisition of the three orders of the Breton nation. He banished the Jews from his states, discharged their debtors, permitted those who had any of their effects to keep them, and forbade any one to be accused who before that period had killed a Jew. (16) This was as if he had said to these people, I have deprived you of every thing, your country, your honor, your riches, and even your title to the pity of the public; I will grant you life, but if you find elsewhere, as here, breasts steeled against pity, you must expire in the convulsions of despair. If Nero was a monster, what was John le Roux?

We must not suppose that they were treated in other places with more humanity. If they were banished, they were certain before they quitted the country, of meeting with every kind of outrage or torment, and even death. If they were recalled, it was to be exposed to every kind of humiliation, and to tortures a thousand times worse than death. At Toul-

louse

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louse they were beat thrice every year, according to law, and it was undoubtedly thought an honor to discharge this infernal commission, since a Viscount de Rochehouart, to whom this business had been delegated, performed it with so much vigour, that he dashed out the brains of a wretched Jew, who expired at his feet. (17) It has been pretended, that this circumstance is exaggerated, on account of the physical impossibility of opening the cranium with a blow; but it is to be observed, that it was at the time of a tournament, and that he perhaps made use of a gauntlet. If we even suppress the half of this account, we shall still have sufficient cause for being shocked. At Beziers they were stoned from the city on Palm Sunday, and durst not venture to appear in it again till Easter. In England, a Jew was chosen every year, in order that his teeth might be pulled out, because King John, styled *Lack-land*, being desirous of extorting a sum of money from an opulent Jew, condemned him to lose a tooth every day, till he opened his purse, which he did not do till the eighth day, after he had lost eight of his teeth. Henry III. of that country, sold all the

( 14 )

the Jews in the kingdom to his brother Richard, as the historian says, (17) *that the Earl might tear out the bowels of those from whom he had only stripped off the skin.* The axe was every where lifted up against their heads. The plague having broke out in Sardinia, four thousand Jews were sent thither to become victims to the contagion. In 1391, the Emperor Venceslas having equally discharged the cities and nobility from the debts they owed the Jews, all Germany took advantage of that opportunity to butcher them. (19) Spain then exercised the same barbarity towards them, and an hundred years after Portugal followed its example. For three days successively, Lisbon was intoxicated with the pleasure of slaughtering them; some were tied alive to dead bodies, and others were burnt in heaps. Mezen-tius and Phalaris, Cortez and Ardets, never invented more shocking tortures.

Let us now turn towards the East, to sigh at the sight of the like horrors! What could they expect from the Mahometans, who held them in detestation? By an agreement made between the Jews and the Sophi, if the Messiah appeared within seventy years, all Persia  
was

( 15 )

was to profess Judaism, if not, the Jews were to embrace the religion of Mahomet. Abbas II. in searching his registers found this treaty, and for three years the Jews were persecuted with fury, and massacred without pity (20). To relate all the cruelties of this nature with which people have disgraced their history, would fill whole volumes. The Rabbis, therefore, say, in the true Rabinnical style; that in these different persecutions so much blood of the holy nation was shed that it formed torrents, which carried with them into the sea, to the distance of more than a league, rocks three hundred feet in circumference!

As it is necessary to speak to the feelings as well as to the judgement, these preliminary details will not be useless; by putting the Jews in mind of the mildness of the governments under which they live at present their souls will doubtless be awakened to gratitude, and by recalling to the remembrance of Christians the crimes of their fathers, they will see what remains for them to do in order to expiate them. Let us remember that the Jews yet scarcely begin to breathe; that from the sacking of Jerusalem to the sixteenth century, there are few countries in which they have

not



( 16 )

not been successively banished, recalled, banished again; plundered, massacred or burnt; and we may even extend to the present day the duration of their misfortunes. The whole world in fury has attacked the remains of this nation; their happiest situation has almost always been when they shed only tears, and the universe has been ting'd with their blood. We never mention the massacre of St. Bartholomew without horror; but the Jews have been an hundred times victims in more tragical scenes—and who were their murderers?

C H A P.

( 17 )

CHAPTER II.

*Reflections on the Dispersion of the Jews.*

THE dispersion of the Jews is a singular event in the history of mankind. Great nations have been swallowed up in great revolutions. Some remains of them form at present detached tribes, but not numerous, who are dispersed throughout their ancient countries, or into a few corners of the earth. The Cygans, or gypsies, are only wandering hordes in the forests of Hungary and Moldavia, or in the villages of Spain; the Breberes are found no where but in Barbary; and the Banians and Guebres only in some parts of the East; whereas the breath of divine vengeance has dispersed the children of Jacob over the whole surface of the globe. Foolish credulity has spoken of a wandering Jew, but they are all so. Subdued by the Assyrians, the Persians, the Medes, the Greeks, and the Romans, these powerful nations have disappeared; and the Jews, whose sceptre they broke, have survived, with their laws, the  
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( 18 )

wreck of their kingdom and the destruction of their conquerors.

Depositories of the first archives of the world, and of oracles which they disown, with the bible in their hand, they verify the predictions of that book, and bear testimony to the truth of a religion which they abhor; they have their eyes continually turned towards Jerusalem, which they alone desire for their country, though they have never been able to obtain that city, successively possessed by the Pagans, the Christians, and the Turks. The blood of Jesus Christ has fallen upon the Jews as they imprecated; and since the tragical scene of Mount Calvary, they have been a spectacle to the whole earth, over which they wander, demanding a Messias, whom they sought for even in Cromwell (1). For seventeen centuries they have been struggling with misfortunes, and supporting themselves amidst persecutions and carnage; all nations have in vain united to exterminate a people who subsist in them all, without resembling any of them, and without becoming incorporated with them. If the tribes are confounded, the race is not so; and in so many countries, differing in religion, language, and customs, the  
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progeny of Abraham subsists without mixture, notwithstanding the persecutions and contempt they have experienced, which ought to have inclined them to confound themselves with the general mass of mankind. In a word, the Jews, treated as strangers, banished and persecuted every where, exist in every quarter of the globe: like a tree deprived of its roots, the scattered branches of which still continue in a strong state of vegetation (2).

What reflections then are excited on the view of a nation every where dispersed, and fixed to no certain spot? Humane towards their own children, cruel towards those of other men; often persecuted for crimes which they never committed, and seeming worthy of being so for those of which they are really guilty; in turns massacred and massacring, by way of reprisals, (3) when they could; every where paying for liberty to exist, and scarcely obtaining that of breathing impure air; abjuring their deliverer, and always duped by impostors, who assumed the title of the Messias (4); become despicable by their insensibility to contempt; with the study of the holy scriptures mixing fables worse than ignorance, and no longer exhibiting, but souls without  
C 2 energy,

( 20 )

energy, and upon which the springs of honor  
———Forgive me, ye sons of Israel; the  
picture I have drawn is almost effaced by my  
tears—but, could I belie all the monuments of  
history? When I traced out these horrid anti-  
theses, truth and pain guided my pencil. I,  
however, with pleasure repeat, that calumny  
has often ascribed crimes to you without any  
foundation; and if you cannot be exculpated  
from the whole of them, it may be easily seen  
that we ourselves, in a great measure, were  
the cause of them.

C H A P-

( 21 )

CHAPTER III.

*Refutation of several Calumnies thrown  
upon the Jews in the middle ages.*

WHAT idea should we form of the an-  
cient Jews and Christians, did we judge  
of them from the numberless writings of the  
Egyptian, Greek, and Roman historians? We  
should believe that the first and real adorers of  
the true God worshipped the head of an ass;  
that others, in their assemblies murdered a  
child, whose flesh they eat; and that they pol-  
luted themselves with incest, and the most  
shocking impurities. These crimes, always  
supposed, but never proved—these atrocious  
calumnies, fabricated by ignorance or male-  
volence, were universally admitted by nations  
who were their judges, and parties against the  
accused.

In the dark periods of the middle ages, the  
Jews, punished but in the most dreadful man-  
ner for real crimes, suffered oftener for crimes  
merely chimerical. They might all have been  
declared forcerers, and reduced to ashes; and  
I know not how it happened, that this exped-

C 3                      dient



( 22 )

dient escaped our ancestors, whose knowledge was equal to their humanity. *Knowledge* they certainly possessed, for they had sagacity enough to suspect that the Jews deprived Charles VI. of France of his reason; and that at the coronation of one of the Richards in England, the same people had breathed some noxious poison upon him.—*Humanity*, likewise, they were not destitute of; for in the two cases above mentioned, the Jews escaped in France, after being banished, robbed, abused, and reduced to the utmost misery: in England, the people were contented with massacring, for a year, all those whom they could find, but they did not burn them (1). Under another reign, they were supposed to be the cause of a famine and pestilence, which desolated the country. In consequence of this opinion, two tents were erected on the sea-shore, over one of which was placed a cross, and over the other the figure of the pentateuch; to these the poor Jews were dragged; and, according as they consented or refused to become Christians, they were introduced into the first tent, or into that of Moses, to be immediately butchered in the latter, and thrown into the sea (2).

But

( 23 )

But the Jews, say they, poisoned springs, kept up a traitorous correspondence with the Saracens, sacrificed Christian children, insulted the sacred host, &c. Let us here first remark, that *profanation*, *impiety* and *sacrilege*, are relative terms, and that their application depends on the religious principles of each person who uses them. When the Spaniards took possession of the beautiful mosques of Grenada, they were considered as profaners by the Moors, who came to expel them. When in the last century, the French wantonly and with laughter, destroyed the synagogue at Worms, they were impious in the eyes of the Jews, who were persuaded that the name of Jehovah, too sacred to be pronounced, was engraven upon one of the walls; and when fanatical Jews shall insult the sacred host, or the image of our Saviour, we Christians, enlightened with the rays of truth, will, with more justice, treat them as abominable and sacrilegious wretches. The severity of those Tribunals, which shew their repentment against such attempts, is applauded, though the punishment which they inflict ought to have no relation with the truth or falsity of religious principles,

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and

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and though the guilty, if they are of a religion different from that which they have insulted, ought to be punished only as seditious persons, and as having profaned that which is held in the highest respect by the greater part of their fellow citizens. The bounds of this work will not allow us to enter into a profound discussion of the historical testimonies upon which the Jews are accused: this task we must reserve for another opportunity; we shall, therefore, only remark, that in this point to assert every thing or deny every thing, are two extremes equally faulty, and which two very respectable writers have not avoided. (3) But the following argument will always be unanswerable.

Let us allow that some Jews of Paris, or Cologne, have profaned the most sacred things of our religion; of this indeed we have incontrovertible facts, and the city of Saint-Diez preserves a monument of it which appears to be authentic (4). Let us allow also, that three or four Jews of Trent, Hagueneau, Fulde, Tyrnau, and Pons, once sacrificed Christian children; we can combat these assertions, for by whom were they made? By Christian historians; but even granting that

( 25 )

that rage, madness, or a desire of revenge may have induced some fanatics (5) to commit these excesses, are we to consider the whole nation as culpable? Because Angoulême was the country of Ravillac, were the inhabitants of that city accomplices in the villainy of the regicide? Because a Jewish physician blinded John, King of Bohemia, by promising to cure him of an ophthalmia; because another poisoned Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, and because Sedecias destroyed Charles the Bald in the same manner, must contemporary Jews and their posterity be responsible for these two crimes, as if the whole nation had directed the hands of the criminals? Mr. de Boissy has proved that the crime of Sedecias is as chimerical as the pretended plot of the Jews, to deliver up Thoulouse to the Saracens. (6)

The poisoning of fountains by bundles of herbs, or noxious mixtures, forms an accusation much more absurd; for, in order to commit crimes, people must be actuated by some motives, and the hopes of success. But what success could the Jews expect in poisoning, I do not say the Rhine and the Danube, as has been so ridiculously asserted, but



[ 26 ]

but springs which were constantly renewed, and from which they themselves daily drew water? Ask the physicians, if at a time when chemistry was only in its infancy, a poison was known sufficiently active to produce that effect. Can we allow ourselves to be persuaded, that the Jews, who were so much interested in living upon good terms with other nations, should attempt crimes, the execution of which was evidently impossible, and which they must naturally expect would produce nothing but new persecutions against them? If men, says a certain author, act foolishly, contrary to their own interest, we are at liberty not to comprehend their actions, and to believe them with difficulty. How then can people universally believe crimes that have never yet been proved?

To conceive this, suppose yourself to be existing in the middle ages—those brilliant ages when the doctors had the secret of explaining every thing. A mortality appears, such as the plague of 1348, which swept away the third part of the people of Europe; the profound speculators of the time propose to know, and to make known, the cause of the contagion. They are, however,

( 27 )

ever, far from consulting nature, whilst they have in their hands a multitude of treatises de *omni foibili*. In cases of necessity, they might have recourse to sympathy, magic, occult causes; but they prefer attributing the ravages of the distemper to poison. It is then agreed, that the Jews are the authors of those scourges with which it hath pleased Heaven to afflict the earth; no one has been a witness to it, but every body asserts it. Besides, the Jews speak a language unknown to the vulgar, and can people speak Hebrew unless it be to devise plots? They have concerted with the Mahometan Princes to destroy all the Christians; the execution of this project is entrusted to the whole Hebrew nation, among whom not one is found imprudent; they have had ability to discover and diffuse abroad a poison as much unknown at present as the nest of the phoenix, or malleable glass. This very subtle poison must have circulated in the bowels of the earth, and arisen through the winding channels of the fountains, in order to corrupt even the sources which supply their streams; for without this precaution, the source, continually renewed, would have destroyed the activity of the poison. It was also

( 28 )

also necessary, that the Jews, by unanimous consent, should abstain from the use of water, in order that they might not become the victims of their own crimes. All this is a little difficult to be believed; but people do not examine the possibility of the thing; they will not open their eyes to see that the inventors of this palpable calumny were those who owed money to the Jews, and who wished to get rid of their embarrassment without paying it; (7) they began, therefore, by butchering them, and left the examination of their guilt till after their death. The hatred entertained against the accused, made mankind swallow the most disgusting absurdities, and contemporary annalists inserted them in their chronicles. Four centuries after, an Eisenmenger collected the whole to form two quarto volumes, which may be considered as a repository of falsehoods. (8) A Father Daniel adopted what they contained; (9) the generality of readers received these facts without weighing them; and this they did with more readiness, as they were attested by an historian, in other respects worthy of credit; and in the present day it is repeated, that under Philip the Tall, the

( 29 )

the Jews poisoned fountains.—But in what ages?—Precisely in the same age in which avarice and calumny dragged to the pile the venerable grand master of the Templars, with his knights; (10) and all these facts are preserved not in the history of tygers, but in that of men. Why cannot we by our tears efface the pages which contain them?

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( 30 )

CHAPTER IV.

*Cause of the respective Hatred of the Jews  
and other Nations.*

THE resistance of the Jews in their last war against the Romans, greatly incensed the latter, who took every opportunity of inspiring all the people of the empire with their prejudices. The Jews, driven from their country, but continually elevated by the imposture of false Messias, who added fuel to their fanaticism, could not tamely submit to a foreign yoke, and they preserved, even till the seventh century, a spirit of sedition which excited hatred against them. (1)

Besides, people pardon each other least for thinking differently in respect to religion, and if there be any religion capable of offending the vanity of those who are not followers of it, without doubt it is that of the Jews. Its divine Author gave it this spirit with a view to raise a barrier between his people and the corruption of those idolatrous nations by whom they were surrounded. Judaism is an exclusive worship, and though it imposes the obligation

( 31 )

gation of universal philanthropy, its singularity tends to make other men be considered as odious and profane. (2) As it professes that there is only one God, the Gentiles revolted against a dogma which sapped the very foundation of paganism; besides, they never spoke of circumcision, the most ancient of all rites, but with a smile of derision, and the passage from ridicule to contempt is immediate. It is a principle in morals, that people do not hate what they despise, but the misfortunes of the Jews have rendered them an exception. Contempt consigned them to disgrace, and fury to torture. The Christians, beholding in them the authors of a deicide, sometimes forgot the example of their Founder, who, when upon the cross, implored forgiveness for his executioners. Mahomet at first shewed a great deal of respect for the Jews, but this sentiment soon gave place to fury. His coran was filled with violent declamation against men, enemies to his doctrine, and the Mussulmans, who argued with the sabre, included the Jews in the proscription of all religions different from Islamism. Length of time gave strength to this animosity, which became hereditary, because fathers took care to inspire it into their

( 32 )

their children. Soon after, it was supposed, that the Jews, irritated, but too weak to oppose striking vengeance to barbarous oppression, privately occasioned public misfortunes, and the vulgar adopting this idea, without examination, massacred them in the most brutal manner. The reader will see hereafter how the Jews, forced to follow usurious practices, when they became rich, excited envy by their opulence, which rendered them still more odious: such are the sources of the hatred which the whole world have sworn against the Jewish people, and of the persecution that has every where followed them.

The result of these events exhibits action and re-action. The Jews of the same sect have always been united together, because there was little disproportion among them of rank and fortune, and very little luxury. Their years of jubilee brought them very near to the primitive equality which civil institutions continually destroy, and their misfortunes have made this union closer, and strengthened its ties. I have here traced out a picture of the cruelties exercised against these unfortunate people. Being banished, proscribed, and every where abused, can they entertain

( 33 )

entertain any affection for their tyrants. They must indeed conceive an aversion to all those who are leagued against them, and particularly to the Christians, whom they consider as guilty intruders, for having eclipsed their religious splendor. (3)

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( 34 )

CHAPTER V.

*Constant Uniformity of Opinions and Customs among the Jews; Modification of their Character.*

**B**OULANGER pretends, that the Jews have often abandoned their own customs to adopt those of other people (1). Another very respectable author assures us, that being dispersed in different nations, they have assumed their character. A Portuguese Jew of Bourdeaux, says he, and a German Jew of Metz, appear both to be absolutely different (2): I allow that this may be the case in some shades; the usual consequence of disparity of fortune; poverty, and opulence, luxury and misery. We know also that the Portuguese Jews, who pretend to be descended from the tribe of Judah, never form any alliances except among themselves; but by searching historical documents we shall find, that unless in the above respects, the Jewish nation has been the most like itself, at all times, both in belief and usages. Oxenstirn reckoned up seventy sects among the Jews (3), but this  
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extravagant calculation is reduced to three (4). Some differences in opinions of very little consequence, no more establish among their partisans a difference of worship than between those who were formerly styled Thomists and Scotists. The Caraites and the Samaritans, above all, are so few in number, that they scarcely deserve notice. The Rabinists, the successors of the Pharisees, form the bulk of the nation; and at Leghorn as at Metz, at Hamburgh as well as Bourdeaux, we shall find a conformity in their dogmas, their rites, and their moral habitudes; because no religion establishes such an uniformity in conduct as the Mosaic, which, joined to the traditions of the Doctors, regulates with the utmost minuteness every thing that respects life. This nation has preserved a character almost invariable; and when a traveller tells us, that the Jewish women of Morocco imitate the customs of the Moors (5), he speaks only of their drefs and fashions.

These people, carrying every where along with them their language and their religion, abandoned none of their customs, but those which they could not preserve. Climate even has scarcely any effect upon them, because their manner

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of life counteracts and weakens its influence. Difference of periods and country has, therefore, often strengthened their character, instead of altering its original traits. In vain has their genius been fettered; it has never changed; and perhaps there is more resemblance between the Jews of Ethiopia and those of England, than between the inhabitants of Picardy and those of Provence.

These people, however, have been modified by their dispersion; but this modification extends only to two objects, their obstinate attachment to their belief, which they abandoned with so much facility in ancient times, and that spirit of avarice which seems to be their ruling passion. Commerce has introduced a remarkable change in their morals; the causes and effects of which, I shall explain at full length, when I come to speak of their usurious practices. But even commerce, which tends to efface national characters, and to render them perfectly alike, has scarcely made any impression on that of the Hebrew people. What I have advanced, naturally gives rise to an objection respecting the possibility of reforming them; but when I come to treat on this

( 37 )

this subject, I shall answer this difficulty in a convincing manner.

The second object of disparity between their ancient and modern manners is, their obstinate attachment to their religious tenets. The miracles performed in favour of the first Hebrews, inspire their descendants with a contempt for those nations which the Eternal never honored in the same manner. They are more elated with the advantages granted to their fathers, than humiliated by the scourges which now oppress them. Even yet, says Bossuet, they consider the kindness of Heaven towards their ancestors as a debt due to their descendants; their grandeur, indeed, is not altogether illusory; but it is no less true that pride among them is an inveterate malady, and that they would soon become insolent, if, freed from the weight of the yoke, they should be abandoned to the natural impulse of their minds, tinctured with prejudices, before any method might be pursued to eradicate them.

Several attempts have been made to extinguish their religious zeal. Trajan interdicted them from reading their law; Adrian granted them that indulgence upon paying a certain

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( 38 )

tax, but he forbade them to circumcise their children, or to return to Judea, from a dread that a sight of that country might re-animate them to rebel. In other places, their books have been burnt, and the same prohibitions repeated an hundred times. After the destruction of the temple, it became impossible for them to practice a part of their worship, and obstacles were opposed to their performing the rest; but these obstacles, by being multiplied, served only to confirm them the more in their obstinacy. They have their eyes still turned towards their ancient metropolis; and if Liberty at present should stretch out her arms to them on the frontiers of Palestine, they would hasten thither from every quarter of the globe, with their books, their laws, and their ceremonies. Seventeen centuries of misfortune have not made them lose the hopes of a deliverer; and when Zabbathai-Zevi, in 1666, announced himself to them in that character, the Jews of Metz, Italy, and Germany, were ready to sell every thing they possessed in order to go and join him (6); but their zeal was cooled, when they heard that this Messiah had put an end to his mission by becoming a Turk.

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( 39 )

Why then are the Hebrews, always fluctuating in their religious principles, and always inclined to idolatry before the Babylonish captivity, at present so much attached not only to the Mosaic law, but to those fables added to it, and which afford food for blind credulity? This is an enigma which religion must solve, unless the following causes are found sufficient to explain it.

To persecute a religion, is always the sure means of rendering it dearer to those who profess it; and mankind have had too many opportunities of being convinced of the truth of this observation: in such cases, self-love is interested in preserving principles which have cost torments, and besides, misfortunes which sometimes induce people to commit crimes, and reduce them to despair, seldom incline them to incredulity; because a man, abandoned by society, naturally turns his eyes towards Heaven, in order to find consolation there for his sufferings.—Such are the Jews: the expectation of a Messiah, who is to conduct them to happiness and glory, makes them forget the miseries of a turbulent life, and the hope of future enjoyments comforts them in their present distresses.

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( 40 )

CHAPTER VI.

*Reflections on the moral Character of the  
Jews: the greater Part of their Vices  
arise from the Oppression under which  
they have laboured.*

IT would be highly unjust to imagine, that the whole Hebrew nation are a people destitute of principles and good morals. We find a number of striking exceptions among the Jews of Portugal, Italy, France, and, above all, Holland; where, for two centuries, not one of them has been condemned to death; among the Jews of Germany, Amsterdam, Berlin, and even Lorrain; among those in the English colonies, where many of them, by their good conduct, have attracted the notice of government; and if we attend to the general prejudice entertained against them, we must allow, that the Jews who meet with esteem, are undoubtedly worthy of it.

The Jews have often been accused of treason. I have already proved that the greater part of these accusations were the children of  
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imposture. And I must here repeat, that nothing is more unreasonable, than to judge of a nation from particular facts, unless their number leads us to a general conclusion. Because a Jewish merchant was concerned in the conspiracy formed against the house of Braganza (1); because two Jews were hanged in Maryland, for keeping up a correspondence with the English troops (2); because the Empress of Russia has lately published an *ukase*, enjoining the Jews to confine themselves in their correspondence to such objects as concern commerce, on account of its being proved, by some of their letters which were intercepted, that they conveyed information to the Turks, are we thence to draw inferences against the whole nation? We may easily give an answer to these anecdotes, by others of a contrary nature. If the Maltese reproach them with having formerly delivered up Rhodes to the Saracens (3), we can remind them, that in 1749, Malta was saved by a Jew from a formidable conspiracy (4). The Jews of Bourdeaux are mentioned as assisting themselves to support the expences of a war; and above all, one named Gradix, relieving the colonies distressed by a famine. I never read any where,  
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( 42 )

that the Jews were concerned in the civil wars of the league, nor in the audacious enterprizes of the buccaneers. At an anterior epoch, we find those of England, at a time when they were permitted to breathe, shewing the utmost readiness to advance money to the King and the Nobility, for the expedition of Outremer. I cannot resist the pleasure of quoting here, on the authority of the King of Prussia, an instance of generosity to which nothing is wanting but a juster application. When William Prince of Orange was preparing to dethrone James II. his father-in-law, Schwartzau, a Jew of Amsterdam, lent him above 80,000l. sterling, telling him, if you are successful, pay me; if not, I shall lose my money with pleasure (5).

This example is equivalent to that of Fugger and Charles V. In enumerating the moral qualities of these people, we may reckon sobriety. Ockley assures us, indeed, that the Jewish women of Morocco are passionately fond of strong liquors (6); but these must be an exception to the general rule; for it is certain that the Jews are not acquainted with drunkenness, but by name.

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A late author assures us, that circumcision checks lechery among them (7); but on the other hand it is acknowledged by physiologists, that the elephantiasis and leprosy, the principles of which are weakened, but not extinguished among the Jews, produce a contrary effect, and render them libidinous, by accumulating many acrimonious particles in the mass of humors contained in their bodies (8). I have observed, that the children of the Hebrews have early notions respecting puberty; fathers have assured me, that a certain solitary vice is extremely common among them; and I presume that the Jews would be very subject to a nymphomania, did they long pine in a state of celibacy. This is an opinion, the probability of which I could explain were it necessary. Among them, perhaps, as well as among many others, the want of opportunity is a safeguard to their virtue. About the middle of the present century, when it was proposed to grant them a legal existence in the kingdom of Naples, being all of a sudden intoxicated with their good fortune, they thought that liberty consisted in licentiousness; they therefore gave themselves up to the most immoderate debauchery, which occasioned

( 44 )

sioned the edict passed in their favor to be revoked (9). In general, however, the Jews cannot be reproached with that libertinism which disgraces and depopulates our cities. Cardoso praises them for having none of those detestable books which are calculated to inflame the passions; and he pretends, that virtue in them is almost an innate principle (10). The Doctors, in their determinations on a number of particular cases, have given a collection of decisions, which might with great propriety be called a code of modesty (11). It is known, besides, that according to their expressions, *the beams of the house ought not to see a Jew in an immodest posture*. By penalties and shame, and by early marriages, they have opposed a barrier against libertinism. Nothing is more uncommon among them than adultery; their conjugal union may, indeed, furnish a useful lesson—they are all good husbands and good fathers.

I think it incumbent upon me to mention other virtues also, which are almost universal amongst them; such as the utmost tenderness towards their indigent brethren, and a profound respect for the authors of their existence: they would be in the utmost distress, did they  
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( 45 )

see the hour of death approaching, without receiving the benediction of their parents, or without giving it to their children. During eleven months, the son of the deceased repeats daily the prayer *kadish*, for the repose of his soul, and celebrates the day of his death by an annual fasting. (12) They are commanded to honor their instructor, as much, or even more than a father; for the latter, say they, only gives them being, but the former gives them happiness. They consider it as an honor to entertain the utmost veneration for old men—an affecting virtue almost unknown in our morals, but so celebrated in remote antiquity, and which brings to our remembrance the government of the patriarchs.

The reader, however, must not imagine, that I wish to clothe them with the robes of innocence at the expence of truth. A certain traveller has lately told us, that the German Jews established in England, are the dregs of mankind; (13) thieves, receivers of stolen goods, &c. &c. and this character may suit many others. Let us be sorry for it;—but let us not be surpris'd. Others have said before me, that we do not remark with sufficient attention, the influence which each profession  
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( 46 )

has over the moral character. All people indeed who are placed in the same circumstances as the Hebrews, and oppressed by misery, which reduces them to the necessity of committing almost every kind of crime, will become like them. Bring upon the scene the Bramins, so much boasted of, and the peaceable inhabitants of Otaheite; interdict them from every means of subsisting, but by a retail trade, the profits of which are small, precarious, and sometimes amount to nothing, when care and industry are not sufficient to supply their powerful wants, always renewed, they will soon have recourse to fraud and deception.

Ask the whole world in what light the Jews have hitherto been considered. Policy hath beheld them with the eye of interest, the vulgar with that of hatred or contempt, and insipid authors have still endeavored to strengthen these sentiments. If the reader is desirous of reading master-pieces of impertinence, he needs only consult the works cited in the notes. (14) He will there find it determined by the theological and Lutheran faculties of Wirtemberg and Rostock, that a Christian, when sick, cannot call in the assistance of a Jewish physician,

( 47 )

sician, because the greater part of them are ignorant asses; because they employ magical remedies, and because of ten baptised persons, they are obliged to kill one. The curse of Heaven has been pronounced against the Jews, consequently, they ought not to cure the Christians, who are the children of God. If a Christian dine with a Jew, it is a kind of sacrilege, according to Tostat. (15) Such also is the opinion of Dr. James de Gruffiis, and this decision is worthy of a man who examines, if a clergyman who fights, incurs excommunication. (16) When we find authors seriously examine whether the Jews are infamous in reality, or only in the eye of the law, and determine for the former opinion; when one of them tells us, that the Jews are tolerated in the same manner as prostitutes and executioners; when in a book, happily now forgotten, entitled *Decisiones auree*, we read that the Jews are worse than the Saracens, and the inhabitants of Sodom; (18) that they cannot be possessed, because one devil cannot get the better of another; when we see a Shakespear introduce upon the stage, in his Merchant of Venice, a Jew, in whose character every villainy is united; when we hear

( 48 )

hear it said, that a Jew, as he is incapable of being grateful for a kindness, ought to be considered *seculi mus in perâ, serpens in gremio, ignis in sinu*; and when we find a man of letters, like Buxtorf, begin his Treatise on the Synagogue, by saying, that nothing is found among the Jews but falsehood and hypocrisy, let us remember, that these charitable writers were only the echoes of public opinions.

The sovereign authority conspiring with these, seems to have raised between us and the Jews a wall of separation. Europe has produced four hundred regulations to break even the ties of the least consequence by which they were connected with us. Some of these prohibitions indeed were founded upon just grounds, particularly that which interdicted them from having Christian slaves. It is proved, that the Jews having a taste for profelytism, compelled them often to infringe the evangelical laws. (19) Such a restriction could not at present be supported by the same motives, and the solicitations of a Jew in such a case, would be repressed with severity when known; but known or unknown, they would not be attended with success. In modern times we shall scarcely find a  
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( 49 )

Christian who has embraced Judaism; for the singularity of the fact, we shall mention Anthony Debriey (20) and Lord George Gordon.

Some ancient statutes of the diocese of Metz, written in 1610, enjoin the clergy to prevent Christian midwives from assisting Jewish women when in labor. One does not readily perceive what motives could have occasioned such a decree; but it appears, that the midwives were almost constrained to partake in some Jewish or superstitious ceremonies; and when, in imitation of several councils (21), Gregory XIII. by a constitution in the year 1581, forbade the Jews to have Christian nurses, because after being admitted to the communion, they were obliged to shed their milk in a house of office, these prohibitions were founded upon reasons which at present cannot exist.

But how many other regulations have been made, which were the offspring either of hatred or of folly. In the East we find an Abdallah, who ordered the Jews to be marked with a red hot iron (22); a Mentakaval, who interdicted them from riding upon any other animals but asses or mules; and a Caliph, El Aquem Beamir Allah, who made them  
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( 50 )

wear at their necks the figure of a calf, because their forefathers had worshipped one in the desert (23). In Persia, at present, they are insulted with impunity (24); in Africa, the Moors spit in their faces even in the streets, and the children pelt them with stones (25). At Fez, a day is appointed for them to pay their tribute in public; and as soon as each has put down his share, he receives a blow with a stick on the foot, and after making a profound bow, retires amidst the hootings of the populace (26). In Turkey, especially in the suburbs of Galata, many of them are porters; but they are forbidden to put a bag of hay under their burdens, according to the manner of the Turks. One of these unfortunate wretches having conducted back to Constantinople Mahomet IV. who had lost his way while on a hunting excursion, asked as a reward, permission to use a bag, and this indulgence was granted him (27). Some legislators have considered them as incapacitated from giving evidence against the Christians. In certain countries, the law inflicts punishment upon them with a ferocious partiality; for the slightest crimes they are subjected to disgraceful and even capital punishments;

( 51 )

ments; and for those which are very pardonable, they are exposed to tortures that far exceed the fault. About two and twenty years ago, the unfortunate Hirtzel Levi remained ten hours alive upon the wheel, and the decree which washed away every aspersion from the memory of an innocent man, did not restore him to life.

At Avignon, a Jew who had carnal connection with a Christian woman, was formerly subjected, by a sentence from the Judge, to the like punishment as that inflicted upon Abelard; but in England, this crime, considered by the law in the same light as those against nature, was punished by burying the criminal alive. In Switzerland and Germany, it was formerly customary, when a Jew deserved the halter, to suspend him by the heels close to a dog, which is the symbol of fidelity (28); and this barbarity has been continued in several countries till the present time. It would appear as if their persecutors wished to reproach the Almighty for having formed them after his own image, and to destroy that seal of the divinity. Governments in general, more inclined to punish their crimes, than reward their virtues, have

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( 52 )

only thought of enacting prohibitory laws, which are far from being encouraging: they have found it much easier to torment criminals than to prevent crimes.

To the great disgrace of the present century, the name of Jew is still held in detestation; and often even the disciples of the most charitable Master insult unhappy people, whose only crime is that of being Jews, and whom we meet in the streets covered with rags and nastiness. In Europe, they have been subjected to the same toll as those animals which they abhor by their religious principles (29). A King of Spain once condemned those who received presents from them to pay a heavy fine (30); and Philip the Bold, after forbidding them to bathe in those rivers, used for that purpose by the Christians, obliged them to wear a horn in their caps; in other countries, they have been obliged to wear yellow hats, wheels upon their clothes, &c. They have been deprived of every thing but their human figure; and people have still wished to affix a humiliating mark of distinction upon them, by making them dress in a singular manner. Alas! what is to be gained by de-  
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basing men?—By such conduct they are undoubtedly rendered much worse.

Instead of filling up the breach which separates us and the Jews, care seems to have been taken to render it still wider; and instead of furnishing them with the means of becoming more enlightened and better, we have shut against them every avenue to the temple of honor and virtue. What must a Jew become while oppressed by despotism, proscribed by the laws, loaded with ignominy, and persecuted by hatred? He cannot quit his habitation without meeting enemies, without being exposed to insult. The light of the sun would only serve to shew his misery in a more conspicuous point of view; a martyr to opinion, he has nothing to lose or to gain by the public esteem, even should he be converted, because people would neither put faith in his sincerity nor in his virtue. By being despised, they are now become despicable; and had we been in their place, we should have perhaps been much worse.

Shaftesbury observes, that the Jews are naturally gloomy and melancholy (31); but nothing else can be expected among a people always surrounded by terrors. Hence that

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deceitful and suspicious look, and that timid and dejected air which appears in their countenances, and is displayed in all their attitudes. Their fear is the fruit of slavery; misery has daunted their hearts, and despair has excited their aversion to us, and conducted them to vengeance. Such is the incontestable genealogy of many crimes, and the usual path of human nature in such cases. But the wrongs of the Jews, and their misfortunes, accuse our conduct towards them. Nations confess, while ye sigh over their sufferings, that this is your work.—The Jews have produced the effects—You have been the causes,—Who then are most culpable?

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( 55 )

CHAPTER VII.

*Reflections on the Physical Constitution of the Jews.*

CLENARD, in his letters, speaks of the Jewish beauties of Fez and Morocco. Those also of Avignon have been extolled; and Le Roque, the traveller, describes the Hebrew women of Moka as being extremely well made (1). Perhaps, even in our own countries, fewer faults will be found in their conformation than among us. However, if we can believe Michaelis (2), and our own eyes, the greater part of the Jewish visages are seldom adorned with beautiful features or the bloom of health. Besides, they are marked with shades of difference, which are as striking as difficult to be accounted for. Lavater the philosopher, who may be considered as a legislator in whatever relates to physiognomy, told me, that according to his observations, the Jews in general had fallow complexions, hooked noses, hollow eyes, prominent chins, and the constrictory muscles of the mouth very apparent. I am extremely happy, that the moral consequences which he thence deduces, coincide with those which I have explained in the preceding chapter.

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Misson remarks, that the Portuguese Jews are of a swarthy complexion; but those of Prague, says he, are like the other inhabitants of Bohemia (3); their color, indeed, is not so dark as that of the Portuguese Jews. It is, however, false, that they are as fair as the natives. In support of this assertion, I shall bring the testimony of Mr. Mallet, an excellent observer, who, after remarking that the sun darkens the complexion of fair people, much easier than cold whitens that of those who are brown, supposing that cold can produce that effect, instances as a proof the Jews of the northern countries, who have long resided there, without resembling the natural inhabitants (4). Nothing is more uncommon than to see Jews of a clear complexion. Some of them are ruddy, but the greater part of them brown, with frizzled hair, which puts us in mind of their origin in the southern countries. With regard to their stature, it never exceeds the common. They have almost all red beards, which is the usual mark of an effeminate temperament; and their women, without being corpulent, are generally subject to the whites, and have very weak eyes, which may arise from their going very seldom abroad.

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( 57 )

It is added, that the Jews abound with bad humours; are very much subject to those disorders which indicate that the general mass of the blood is corrupted, as appears from their being formerly troubled with the leprosy, and at present with the scurvy, which has so much affinity to it (5), and with the scrophula, bloody-flux, &c. If to the testimony of those who make the above assertion, we join the acknowledgment of Abrabanel (6), we shall be tempted to believe, that the hemorrhoides are endemial among them; and as this malady has sometimes periodical returns, several writers have seriously concluded, that the Jews are subject to menstrual evacuations (7). Cardoso quotes and refutes various authors, who have propagated these ridiculous notions (8).

It is pretended also, that the Jews constantly exhale a bad smell. This, indeed, is not a new opinion; for we find frequent mention made of it in old authors; and this accusation, repeated in all ages, has perpetuated the same prejudice (9). Ramazzini, in his *Treatise on the Diseases of Tradesmen*, has inserted a chapter on those of the Jews. He has no doubt, that the Jews exhaled a very fetid smell, when they lived amidst the splendor of Jerusalem; and



( 58 )

and he assigns as the cause of this pretended stink, and of their paleness, which is more real, their occupations, (such as that of selling old clothes) and their poverty, *quia sunt illis angusta domus, et res angusta domi*. Others ascribe these effects to the frequent use of herbs, such as onions and garlic, the smell of which is penetrating; and some to their eating the flesh of he-goats; while others pretend, that the flesh of geese, which they are remarkably fond of, renders them melancholy and livid, as this food abounds with viscous and gross juices (10).

I admit the influence of these particular causes upon the constitution, but the inductions thence drawn are not satisfactory. Who will believe, for example, that selling old clothes is sufficient to render the complexion dark? Are the inhabitants of the street *Tirechape* at Paris, or of the Rag-fair at Strasbourg, less blooming than those of the streets in the neighbourhood? Besides, the Jews are neither all poor, nor sellers of old clothes; and the custom of Metz, already mentioned, is not general. Mr. Venel, after remarking that the epilepsy is common amongst the Jews, that the greater part of them soon appear old, and  
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( 59 )

that they seldom attain to a great age, pretends that their ablutions contribute much to enervate their constitutions (11). In answer to this it may be said, that the continual use of the bath did not enervate the Romans; that the Turks, subjected in this respect to more legal ceremonies than the Jews, are not effeminated; and that besides, cold ablutions, such as those used by the latter, instead of relaxing the body, ought to strengthen the muscles, and give them more elasticity.

We shall, perhaps, approach nearer each other, if we assign different causes, the united effects of which may disfigure the person, and impress on it the marks of degeneration. Such as,

First, Dirtiness, which in certain respects is legal in the time of mourning, and which is constantly the source of cutaneous disorders, so common among the Jews (12). Their ablutions, however, as we are told, ought to produce a contrary effect. This we allow; but it is to be observed, that these ablutions, which are less frequent than is supposed, are a yoke to which the Jews have been subjected, and not a precaution taken for the preservation of health: seldom are they employed in  
such

( 60 )

such a manner as to be useful; and they are attended with no effect, when cleanliness in furniture, linen, food, and the renewal of fresh air, &c. are not made to conspire towards the same end.

Secondly, Their nourishment is more suited to the climate of Palestine than to ours; for, independent of religious and moral reasons, abstinence from certain kinds of food, such as is prescribed by Moses, is often justified by a knowledge of the climate, as has been proved by Mr. Bagard (13), after so many others.

Thirdly, The use of ill-chosen and ill-prepared food. It is certain from experience, that this cause makes the human race soon degenerate; and the authority of Buffon gives an additional weight to this assertion (14); but it is certain, that from a fear of eating blood, the Jews squeeze it almost entirely from their meat, and by these means deprive it of much of its nutritive juice. We are assured, that in certain countries, they salt very little flesh; and on this account it must have a noxious quality, and become difficult to be digested; for it is well-known what a happy effect salt has over the animal economy.

Fourthly,

( 61 )

Fourthly, The want of a mixture in the breed, which causes a race to degenerate, and lessens the beauty of individuals; but if it be true, as Vaudermade assures us (15), that the forbidding a brother and sister to marry, was the very essence of policy, I should believe that policy to be founded on the idea of multiplying the moral relations between mankind, and of extending their benevolence, rather than upon physical experiments. However this may be, alliances between relations never tend to bring the species to perfection. This is a circumstance which produced the degeneration of the Parfis in the East, and of the Jews every where. Dispersed often in small numbers, and in the same places, they have dispensed with the necessity of going to a great distance to form alliances; they marry in the second degree; and it is almost always the same blood which circulates in the veins of different families. In confirmation of this assertion, I shall mention a fact, told me as a certain truth, which is, that at Salenci, the custom of not seeking for wives beyond that asylum of virtue, has caused the race to degenerate.

Fifthly,



( 62 )

Fifthly, Another cause is the general practice of marrying very young. This custom, prejudicial to both sexes, whom it enervates, causes women to be with child prematurely; which, according to Mr. Venel, weakens the mother, and the fruits of her womb. This truth, of which we have repeated examples in the present day, refutes the opinion of those who believe that the epoch of puberty, and being marriageable, are the same; and that early unions are according to the order of Nature. Let us add our reflections to those of the author just quoted, and let us bring the matter to an examination.

People have fallen into a great error to confound ripeness for marriage with fecundity; the latter is only the faculty of producing a being of the same species. It is well known, that it generally announces itself among the women by a periodical evacuation, which, perhaps, is not an institution of nature, for this problem has never yet been resolved (16), and by phenomena common to both sexes. But ripeness for marriage establishes certain moral relations between the man and the woman; it requires an assemblage of those qualities proper for discharging in their full extent

( 63 )

tent the paternal and maternal duties: it supposes, therefore, that the moral faculties have attained to as great perfection as the physical; and that to mature the latter, the progressive advancement of the constitution has not been forced, without which the produce of them would resemble those fruits, which, being stunted in their growth, are never endowed with that exquisite flavor, which is the gift of nature. If fecundity proved that a person was fit for marriage, we must conclude, that the Indian women, often fruitful at the age of eight or nine, have at that period all the qualities requisite for being mothers. The existence of periodical evacuations does not fix the epoch of fecundity: it sometimes establishes itself at the age of one year; and there are mothers to whom it is unknown during their whole lives. By the same reason, valetudinary young girls, in cities, would be fitter for marriage than the robust women of the country; for among the latter, the signs of puberty do not appear so soon as among the former.

But it will, perhaps, be said, if fecundity precedes ripeness for marriage, how can we justify Nature in this respect? Has she endowed mankind with a faculty which may sometimes become

( 64 )

become their tyrant, because it exists before they ought to employ it? Let us not do injustice to Nature, that is to say, its Author, by laying to its charge our faults; the marks of its hand are still imprinted on its most beautiful works; but our social conventions have greatly altered their features. The principles of education, and the enlargement of our knowledge respecting the two substances of which man is composed, have no where been regulated. And what is the consequence? That the mind is often thirty years of age, while the body is only ten; so that a forward imagination breathes the flame of passion into the youthful heart, and sets it on fire. The progress of the evil is still more striking among young people who use too rich and luxurious food. The nutritive juice being too abundant, opens to itself new channels, and accelerates a premature puberty, the usual consequence of excess, and which is different from natural puberty, which even that qualification declares to be the work of nature. This then is the reason why both sexes attain to that period sooner in cities, where luxury has established its empire, than  
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( 65 )

in the country, where temperance prevails, and where people approach nearer to Nature.

It evidently appears, that in the order established by the Creator, these two periods being only the same, ought never to precede the full growth of the organs and of reason; because, according to the remark of a judicious author, Nature never pays attention to the species till after forming the individual. But this order is at present inverted; for man, in every thing, acts contrary to Nature; and if puberty declares itself prematurely, let us not hasten the extinction of the human race by too early marriages.

This digression is not foreign to my subject. It was necessary to combat a prejudice, the fatal effects of which are too often felt among the Jews. Let me add, that their women are continually enervated by a sedentary life; that the greater part of the men are in the same situation; and that some, following a wandering life, which affords no exercise but to the legs, never have the vigorous arms of our rustics. This physical degeneration, added to the poverty of part of the Jews, would impede their population, were it not favored by causes infinitely superior.

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C H A P-



( 66 )

CHAPTER VIII.

*Prodigious Population of the Jews. What are the Causes of it.*

THE Jewish population under David, is reckoned by Mr. Wallau, to have been nearly seven millions (1). This calculation appears wonderful; but is he not deceived when he assures us, that the Jews are as numerous at present as at the most flourishing period of their existence in Palestine? This calculation indeed appears extravagant, as well as the greater part of those which relate to population. Michaelis says, that the common opinion in Germany is, to allow five millions of Jews to be existing on the globe (2); and this assertion is much nearer the truth.

If we wish to collect probabilities on this question, let us not consult the works of the Jews, and above all, those of Benjamin de Tudela and Orobio; they have always exaggerated the number of their brethren, to make us believe that their nation is still flourishing, even in its dispersed state. It was doubtless from this motive, that in the last century,

Lurrati,

( 67 )

Lurrati, a Venetian Rabbi, followed in his account by Lancelot and Addison (3), reckoned the Jews dispersed throughout the Turkish empire to amount to several millions; whilst there is every presumptive reason to suppose that their number is much inferior. A late author (4) says, that there are in Europe one million and forty-eight thousand Jews, and this appears probable, though that writer, or Mr. Brindel, who makes the same assertion, has erred in his calculation; for he reckons the Jews in Alsace twice, and both times erroneously. John-James Schadt, who died in 1722, is also mistaken, in reckoning several millions of Jews to be in the countries of Barbary and Mauritania alone (5). Basnage, a contemporary with Schadt, but a more exact calculator, reduced the number of Jews to three millions, and he supported his assertion by very plausible reasons (6). Since that epoch, that is to say, the commencement of the present century, they have experienced no great revolution by war, and we may encrease this number by one half, which will give four millions five hundred thousand persons. A perusal of what follows will render this calculation probable.

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A learned man of Strasburgh (7) pretends, that a century is sufficient to treble this number, and the province which he inhabits furnishes us with a proof of this assertion (8). In 1689, there were in Alsace no more than five hundred and forty-seven Jewish families; in 1716, there were thirteen hundred and forty-eight; and in 1761, the number was three thousand and forty-five (9). Let us suppose, and the hypothesis is agreeable to reason, that in the course of time, four hundred new families were drawn thither by the mildness of the French government, or by the avarice of the nobility, who might receive Jewish strangers before the letters patent of 1784, and to whom the Jews who were admitted, still pay for the right of protection; subtracting therefore the new comers, we shall still find a quadruple multiplication in the course of seventy-two years, while Mr. Moheau finds the population of France to have scarcely increased a ninth part in the course of seventy-four years (10). As this prodigious multiplication of the Jewish people has been remarked also in other places, we must endeavor to explain the cause of it.

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( 69 )

We shall not, with some authors, go to search for it in polygamy, and permission to obtain divorces. The latter are very uncommon among the Jews, and they are not procured without tedious formalities, which often produce repentance. Polygamy is very little known, except perhaps in some corners of the East, and the effect resulting from this double liberty, is too trifling to be noticed in calculating the number of these people.

A Jew, who at the age of twenty has no wife, is considered as living in a state of libertinism. I have remarked, that the custom of marrying too soon enervates people; the principles of reproduction, therefore, being constantly weakened in effeminate bodies, the Jews cannot transmit to their posterity that vigor which they do not possess themselves; and if we allow that there are hereditary diseases, their children must bring into the world with them the seeds of cutaneous disorders; which, however, will be attended with one advantage, which is, that they will prevent them from being attacked by others, because the first have the same effect upon the body as cauteries and exutories (11); but the reproductive principles will always have sufficient

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ent strength to exert themselves in such a manner, that the numerical population will never decrease. Besides, those who are acquainted with their legal observances respecting marriage, know that they are wisely combined, and that they are equally conformable to the laws of Nature and of decency; they husband the resources of the former, and make both sexes reserve them till the period most favorable to propagation (12). After bringing forth, mothers still deign to reflect that they are mothers, and the commendable custom of suckling their own children tends greatly to support the above causes. Among us, poverty prevents a great number of marriages. Among the Jews, marriage serves to console them in their misery, and indemnifies them from being deprived of the comforts of life. Of all men, the Jews are the most desirous of multiplying, and the hopes of seeing the Messiah spring from their race, renders them still more exact in fulfilling that precept in Genesis, which they consider as a law imposed on them. Among us, in the opulent classes of society, and even in that of those who only possess mediocrity, destructive luxury, vanity, or debauchery,

( 71 )

bauchery, often check the progress of population. Among the Jews, a numerous family is considered as an honorable testimony of the favor of Heaven.

It is a certain fact, that the Jews are extremely fond of fish; and if it be true, as Montesquieu assures us, that this kind of food is very prolific, his observations respecting sea port towns (13) may, with great propriety, be applied to the Hebrews. We have praised their severity of manners, which, added to their frugality, and their aversion to luxury, still favors their population. The same causes which favor it, tend also to preserve it, and were not this the case, the whole nation would have been annihilated by the repeated massacres to which they have been exposed in all ages. What then in an hundred years will be the increase of a people, among whom barrenness is considered as a disgrace; who abhor celibacy, as a cursed state; who reprobate widowhood, and who being exempted from taking up arms, never expose themselves to the dangers of the sea (14),—a people whose existence is respected by every government at present in Europe, and who, condemned to an uniform kind of life, seldom

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( 72 )

experience those violent crises, which among other nations often ruin the health of the most robust, if some remedy is not speedily applied to reform them? Futurity perhaps will justify the unfavorable predictions of Mr. Mercier (15), and states become a prey to the intestine broils excited by a people grown too numerous, will one day suffer for their negligence (16).

CHAP.

( 73 )

CHAPTER IX.

*Danger of tolerating the Jews in their present State, on Account of their Population.*

WE are continually told, that a numerous population is a source of happiness to a state. Let us therefore examine this assertion, and, supposing it to be just, let us see whether that of the Jews be not an exception. The advantages arising from a numerous population, can only relate to the facility with which a state can procure a subsistence, and defend itself. It is, perhaps, from not understanding one another, that people have disputed so much upon this subject. It will, doubtless, be granted, that the prosperity of a nation consists in that of its members; hence I may conclude, that a country, in which the inhabitants have every thing necessary in abundance, is flourishing, even if its population be very limited. It must, however, be allowed, that in the present situation of human affairs, nothing can secure a continuance of such prosperity; to disturb it nothing more is necessary than that a neighboring monarch, prompted



( 74 )

prompted by ambition, or a rage for conquest, should send against a peaceable people formidable armies, which they cannot oppose but with unequal forces; slaughter will then terminate the misfortunes of one part of the nation, and the other will be obliged to receive chains. Whilst mankind thirst after blood, or rather whilst the greater part of governments are destitute of the principles of morality; whilst policy is only the art of deception; and whilst people, unacquainted with their real interests, affix a ridiculous importance to the trade of a soldier, and blindly suffer themselves to be conducted to slaughter, almost always for the purpose of supporting vanity, and never to assert the rights of humanity, or promote the cause of public felicity and virtue, the happiest nation will be that which can with the greatest facility butcher others.

In this point of view, a numerous population may secure public felicity; but we must at least suppose, that the country produces abundance to supply all the wants of its inhabitants. It must procure all its provisions either from itself, or from abroad; this alternative exposes it to a refusal either  
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( 75 )

from its neighbors or from Nature, and its sufferings will be increased in proportion to the number of its subjects. Famine, therefore, cannot be prevented, unless there be a sufficient number of people employed in providing such articles of food as are indispensably necessary; and while luxury is accused, and with justice, of taking many useful hands from the country, we preserve amongst us a nation interdicted from agriculture; a nation which consumes without making any supply in return, and which by their retail trade, can never fill up the vacuum occasioned by their consumption. Thus the Jews, deprived of the power of nourishing the country, as well as of defending it, will every day become more hurtful. It is true, that population, when it reaches a certain degree stops; the boundaries of it are marked out by the nature of the civil and religious government under which men live; by the extent of the country they inhabit, and by the fertility of the soil which they cultivate: their multiplication will always be in proportion to the facility they find in procuring establishments and subsistence, and from these principles it appears, that the population of the Jews is  
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( 76 )

in a condition to surpass ours. We have seen with what facility they encrease; and as they every where render the farmers tributary, the objects of consumption will first pass into their hands, and their population will be continually augmented. They are like those creeping plants which waste the substance of the trees to which they attach themselves, and which may at length exhaust and destroy them.

To prevent this exorbitant multiplication of the Jews, several legislators have thrown obstacles in the way of their marriages. Letters patent, of 1784, concerning those of Alsace, forbid them to enter into the nuptial contract without permission. An edict of the King of Prussia, in 1722, enjoined the same thing, by subjecting them to pay a duty to the military treasury, when leave was granted them to marry. In the territories of Culembach and Hesse, their marriages were put off till late epochs; that of twenty for young women, and that of twenty-four for young men. The number of Jews being determined, one of the children may supply the place of the deceased father, but the rest have not the right of remaining in that country where they first drew breath (1). Such prohibitions are violences

( 77 )

lences offered to Nature, which would disavow them, were the passions silent.

But when the Jews, become too numerous, shall inundate and infest a country, what must be done? A German author, who, in a prolix style, has advanced much false reasoning respecting the Jews, does not examine this matter; and yet, when *political institutions* are formed, it appears very proper that a political question of this nature should not be neglected. When the evil has attained to its greatest height, recourse will perhaps be had to an expedient often employed, that of banishing them. Can it be a crime, then, to examine the justice of this treatment? The best reasons will never prevail against the right of force; but the right of brutes will perhaps not always be that of men.

If Germany, for example, banishes all its Jews, and if we, in imitation of other powers, refuse to receive these unfortunate people, they will be forced to precipitate themselves into the Rhine, because they will be deprived even of the liberty of fishing on its banks. Our ancestors opened asylums for those from whom the present Jews are descended; but this indulgence towards the fathers, does not prevent



( 78 )

vent the children to acquire a right—an imprescriptible right—like that of emigrating; when people, not finding happiness in their native soil, may, without violating the rights of general society, leave it, and seek a more hospitable land wherever they think proper. I know no man for whom the earth was not created; and if, after living under the protection of the laws; after discharging in my native soil the duties which they impose, I have not acquired the rights of other citizens, let me be told what I must do to obtain them.

But it perhaps will be replied, the crimes of the Jews, and their usury—Their usury, without doubt, ought to be suppressed; but a right to punish the guilty does not convey a power to banish them. By what right, indeed, am I entitled to put a robber in the way of taking the purses of others, in order that I may prevent him from getting possession of mine? What title authorises us to send into neighbouring states those banditti who infest ours, and who, in other places, would only renew their former crimes? The punishment of exile is one of those usages equally ancient and barbarous, as well as that of confiscation;

( 79 )

confiscation; but the case respecting these will be the same as with regard to the rack, the French will be the first to discover the abuse, and the last to reform it.

CHAP.

( 80 )

CHAPTER X.

*The Danger of tolerating the Jews in their present State, on Account of their Aversion to other People, and of their relaxed Morals.*

A Respectable writer (1), who wishes to justify the morals of the Jews, observes, that the principal book of their religion is the law of Moses; and that with them we also pay respect to that sacred volume. The arguments which Mr. Dolun uses to justify the Jews cannot be applied but to the feeble and dispersed tribes of the Caraites, who are declared enemies to oral traditions, and who, on that account, have the Rabbins as their enemies. Every body knows that the latter have changed the morality of the bible by intermixing in it talmudical reveries—reveries so much respected, that the Jews compare the Bible to water, the Misna to wine, and the Gemare to hippocras. These two parts form the Talmud, that vast reservoir, I had almost said sink, in which is accumulated every folly that the human mind is capable of inventing.

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( 81 )

The Jews have their Escobars, and they have also their Sanchez. A number of their casuists, we are told, authorise deception, equivocation, mental restriction, and hypocrisy. A Rabbi Simeon decides, that if idolatry promises you life on condition of committing an act of idolatry, you must accept that condition, because it is not said *you shall die by these laws, but you shall live by them*. Perjury ought not to wound their consciences, because God effaces it in the day of expiation; and whether they be guilty of perjury, or of any other sin, they can easily get rid of it, by going, on the commencement of the new year, to the banks of some river and casting it on the fishes (2). I will not venture, however, to assert, with a modern writer, that they consider the taking a false oath to be as honorable as to perform a meritorious action. I must even confess, that some Rabbis have harangued to their flocks on deceitfulness in words. Aben-Ezra observing how common this crime was among the Jews in his time, considered it as a sufficient cause for the prolongation of their miseries; but even this acknowledgement proves the relaxed state of their morals; and had not their probity been suspected, would

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( 82 )

so many precautions have been enjoined, and so much written in Germany, on the manner of administering an oath to the Jews, which, nevertheless, are thought still insufficient to give people confidence in them?

But, adds Mr. Dolun, the relaxed opinions of some Rabbis ought not to bring a reflection on the doctrine of the Jews, taken in general, any more than ideas of the like kind, advanced by Christian divines, ought to be put on a footing with the doctrines of the sacred scriptures. Such a comparison is very inaccurate. There is, however, a great disparity; for the erroneous opinions of our divines will have no influence but upon the narrow circle of their adherents; whereas the decisions of the Rabbis are irrefragable, since one must believe a Rabbi, says Luther, even were he to assure us, that the right hand is the left; and when two contradict each other, both ought to be considered as in the right, and be preferred to Moses (3). Several of our divines have advanced maxims reprobated by the scriptures; but have they ever insulted reason by axioms as detestable as the following?

Is it true, that according to the Talmud, a Jew ought to salute a Christian by cursing him,  
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( 83 )

and to wish him a good journey, by adding, *in petto*, like that of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, or of Haman to the gallows (4)? Is it true, that according to Maimonides, one must convert the idolater or kill him? That if he is in danger of being drowned one must not assist him, and that not to thrust him over a precipice is doing him a favor (5)? Maimonides, among the Jews, is styled the *Eagle of Doctors*; so that, since Moses the legislator, no one has appeared greater than Moses Maimonides. Solomon Jarchi having decided that one must bruise the head of the woman, as that of the serpent, explains this thought, and confines the severity of it to the Christian women (6). Basnage has collected several decisions of this kind. A Jew, who reads these authors, or who opening his Talmud finds there that he is advised to kill the best man that may be existing in any nation, if he does not respect that book, which is now become classic among all Rabbiniſts, would not be far from—but I dare not finish. Basnage even assures us, as well as Boulanger (7), that they have established their hatred against us into a precept, and that it is carried even to madness. I choose rather to believe, however, that he must be deceived in

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ascribing to the whole Jews this horrid axiom of a few enthusiasts, that he who does not keep up his hatred, and avenge himself on his enemies, is unworthy of the title of Rabbi (8).

The decretals evidently shew, that from a hatred to Christianity, they formerly affected to appear in public with great pomp on Good-Friday, and that it was found necessary to forbid them to quit their habitations on that day. But to descend to a period nearer the present time:—Do we not see, that in 1702, the King of Prussia placed a Christian inspector in each of their religious assemblies, and published a severe edict against them, to prevent them from repeating a form of imprecation used in their houses and synagogues, with a prohibition under pain of banishment, and even of being beheaded, to teach it to their children? This form of imprecation was *Wir knien und bukken, uns aber nicht vor dem gebangten Jesu*: that is to say, *We kneel down—we prostrate ourselves, but not before that Jesus who was hanged.*

The fervor of the Jews is singularly inclined to fanaticism; and they are highly incensed when one of their members abjures his religion. This is in consequence of a principle imputed to Maimonides (9), that those who  
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( 85 )

abandon Judaism ought to be persecuted to hell. In 1752, when Borach Levi, a Jew of Hageneau, summoned the clergyman of St. Sulpice in due form of law to baptize him, after explaining his desire, his capacity, &c. in his supplicating letter to the Archbishop of Paris, he said, *If I rejoin the Jews, I am certain that I shall be poisoned* (10). We still recollect that Italian Rabbi, who, about twenty years ago, wishing to become a Christian, received the baptism of blood from the hands of the Jews. Many other anecdotes of a similar nature might be found to confirm those here mentioned.

The aversion of the Jews is extended to two sects, sprung from the same stock as themselves. The gospel attests their inveterate hatred against the Samaritans. These, become almost extinct, can no longer be objects of persecution; but they are objects of calumny to the Rabbinites. I have heard that chimera maintained, which has been so often repeated, that the Samaritans actually still worship a pigeon on Mount Gerizim. It appears that in the twelfth century, the Rabbinites caused the Caraites to be driven from Spain. Every time the latter approached them, they were treated only

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( 86 )

with insult (11). A Caraité, who came to Frankfort, would have been pelted to death, had not Ludolph rescued him from the fury of the synagogue (12). Their hatred, indeed, is carried so far, that if a Caraité and a Christian happen to be in danger of drowning together, a Rabbinit ought to make a bridge of the body of the Caraité, in order to save the Christian (13). Customs, which are matters of very little importance, and a certain pride, have even produced a division among the Rabbinit themselves. Amsterdam and London have sometimes seen scandalous scenes arising from the antipathy between the German and Portuguese nations; and even lately, a Jew of Berlin having married the daughter of a Portuguese physician, the parents of the girl wore mourning as for the death of a relation (14). What therefore are we to conclude from what I have related? That we must banish the Jews and destroy them?—By no means.—It proves still more clearly, how necessary it is to reform them. One honest man more or fewer in society, is an object of no little importance; and yet we shall find from four to five millions of Jews dispersed throughout the world, nearly forty thou-

( 87 )

thousand of whom exist in France. To rectify their education would be of the utmost utility, both to the people and their morals.

I must, however, confess, that the mildness of modern governments has a little cooled their religious effervescence, and mitigated their hatred against us. This morality, founded upon a ferocious theory, specimens of which we have given, is seldom that of their conduct; but even supposing that they practise it, let us repeat with tears, O reader, what I have said before, *This is our work; had we been in their situation, we should have been much worse.*

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CHAP.

( 88 )

CHAPTER XI.

*Danger of tolerating the Jews in their present State, on Account of their Commerce and usurious Practices.*

THE history of Verdun presents us with a fact, which is singularly striking. In the year 1434, the inhabitants having sent deputies to the council of Basle, they presented a petition, setting forth, that as they lived on the borders of a country often laid waste by war, leave might be granted them to admit into their poor city Jews, who by their industry might enliven it by commerce, and procure them the enjoyments of life. Violent debates, says Wassebourg (1), took place on this petition, and it was at length rejected. Was it in the power of the Jews to realise the desires of this city, or did the Verdunoise speculate badly? This question I shall not examine; but it is at least very doubtful, whether any city at present would wish to admit them. In our sea-port towns, and in some others, the Jews, as they are useful in commerce, occasion a kind of liveliness and activity;

( 89 )

activity; but we must allow also, that they hurt its credit, by weakening that confidence which is as it were the soul of it. If they favor the libertinism of young people, and if they tend to corrupt the national manners, all these evils arise from their being entirely confined to commerce. As this occupation causes specie to circulate in their hands, it renders it easy for them to follow usurious practices, and to debase the current coin (2). Besides, commerce forms a connection between them and a great many citizens, by which they are enabled to employ a number of deceptions, to make fraudulent bargains, and to spread their baneful influence in a more efficacious manner.

Leo de Modena has attempted to justify his nation respecting usury, by the prohibitions mentioned in the pentateuch (3); but it is a singular apology to quote the text of a law, in order to prove that it has not been infringed. On the contrary, who does not know that the sacred books have served the Jews as a pretence for their robbery, and that justifying themselves from a passage of Deuteronomy (4), commented by avarice, they have extended the land of Canaan every where, in



( 90 )

in order that they might have a right to find Ammonites and Philistines throughout the whole earth? Besides, being always filled with the idea of a Messias, who is to subdue the universe, they doubtless believe that their usurious profits are only a slight anticipation upon his conquests. We are assured, that many synagogues borrow money on exorbitant interest, because they have a certain prospect of a clear gain by lending it out afterwards at a still higher rate; Tostat (5), therefore, and a multitude of authors with him, pretend, that the Jews do not consider it as a sin to cheat a Christian. If this assertion be true, can we find sincerity among men, who have the art of committing frauds without remorse, and who cannot live honestly, without acting contrary to their own principles? The dread of punishment then will be the only curb to restrain them; but the lamp of justice has not always sufficient power to dissipate those clouds of darkness, under which crimes are sometimes veiled. Besides, it is well known, that justice indeed may be bought and sold, and that to certain people it becomes a very lucrative branch of industry.

( 91 )

dustry.\* With money the Jew purchases protectors of credit, who shelter him under their wings, and by these means fraud becomes a contagious distemper, which corrupts the purity of national manners.

Leo de Modena confesses, however, that the Jews in their abject state, among different nations, may have sometimes degenerated from the ancient probity of the Israelites. This confession is something, but he would have done better to allow, that for a long time past, this vice has been prevalent among the Hebrew people. It is by this that they have debased themselves; for exalted sentiments, vivacity of genius, and avarice, are three things that cannot be alloyed. But this author, in apologising for the Jews, has not touched upon the favorable side, which was to prove, that their usurious practices are the

\* The translator cannot resist the temptation of this opportunity to express his indignation against a set of sharpers in this country, who, under pretence of their being instruments of justice, exercise their rapacity upon every person who is unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. *Petty-fogging attornies and Trading Justices* are a disgrace to any country. *Yet such things are.*—T.

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( 92 )

immediate and necessary consequence of the oppression under which they labor; and that it is highly unreasonable to reproach them with crimes, after we have obliged them to commit them. However, what a Rabbi has never yet attempted, a Roman priest hopes to execute with success; and the public, doubtless, will with pleasure see a Catholic minister become an advocate for the greatest enemies of his religion.

Dr. Pocock, an English traveller, surprised to find few Jews in the island of Scios, asked the reason, and received the following answer: *We are too cunning for them* (6). Peter the Great, when requested to admit the Jews into his territories, where there are some of them at present, replied to the person who was interceding for them, "Congratulate them upon my refusal; they are cheats; but as the Russians surpass them in that respect, they would be an over-match for them." The assertions of the Czar and of the Sciotes may, however, be doubted. No people have carried farther than the Jews the art of cunning, and of watching for misfortune, in order that they may fall busily upon those who are victims to it; at the moment

( 93 )

moment when you flatter yourself with the hopes of seeing the whole series of their deception laid open, they entangle you in new snares.

If a debtor at the stated term of payment cannot liquidate his debt, to avoid a ruinous law suit, he will be forced to purchase at triple the value a horse of no utility but to the tanner. Soon after, this debtor brings the sum which he owes, but sometimes, under the infernal mask of indulgence, he is told, that there is no necessity for his putting himself to any inconvenience, in order that being induced to employ his money elsewhere, they may have an opportunity of making an unexpected demand upon him, and of distressing him. Sometimes they return him a security, exactly copied from his own, with so much artifice, as to stand the strictest examination, and to impose even upon the most experienced. Is this your note of hand? Yes—Do you wish to have the pleasure of seeing it burnt? By all means—It is then thrown into the fire—The debtor departs fully persuaded that he is liberated—But some time after he is sued for the debt, and the real note is produced against him. The only method



( 94 )

method to avoid any surprise in such cases, would be to enact, that the Jew, when he returns the note, should also give a receipt before two witnesses. I say before witnesses, for should he have the fatal address to vary his manner of writing, he would form his characters very differently from those which he usually employed, and the receipt would be considered as a forgery. If the Jews pay very heavy taxes to the Sovereign, they know well how to indemnify themselves among the lower class of society, and the tribute which they pay to the state, is a real burden upon the people. They make advances to the farmers, by supplying them with cattle on credit, and by lending them money to purchase whatever may be necessary for agriculture; but this is a destructive kindness which supports these victims for a moment, until they usurp a right to ruin them. And thanks to the probity of the Hebrew people, every one knows the meaning of the vulgar expression, *to be in the hands of the Jews*. Pursuing the occupation of jockies, they have the mischievous talent of giving to worn-out horses, a borrowed youth, and a fictitious vigor, which deceive the most clear-sighted; and

( 95 )

and it is to be remarked, that in this, as well as in every other kind of contract, they almost always exact one half too much; so true it is, that they only want dupes to charge double the value of whatever they sell.

As it is proper to discuss both sides of the question, I must, however, observe, that the Jews of Metz have twice rendered important services to the province. In the war, which was terminated by the treaty of Ryswic, they procured horses from Germany for the cavalry, notwithstanding those prohibitions published, which made it a capital offence to transport horses to France. In 1698, the poorness of the crops giving people cause to be apprehensive of a famine, they conveyed corn from Frankfort, and brought back abundance to the province. It may, perhaps, be objected, that they found their advantage in this conduct, by the profits arising from the sale; but to this we reply, that we ought often to give men credit for their good actions, without enquiring too narrowly into the motives from which they proceeded; but here a good action was, as we are told, entirely detached from interested views, since

( 96 )

they sacrificed above 1200l. sterling by their contract (7).

After mentioning facts which give delight to the heart, we must return to scenes that pain it. Can we, for example, shut our eyes upon that injury which the Jews do to youth, in favoring their libertinism, by lending them money at exorbitant interest? What will that officer do whose passions begin to acquire force? or that other whose affairs are deranged by gambling or debauchery? The Israelite makes his appearance very seasonably, displays his purse, and measures his gain by the embarrassment of the borrower, and the dangers likely to arise from lending. The usurer is not acquainted with the Macedonian decree; but he knows very well, that he cannot invoke the protection of the laws, which do not authorize an action against a minor, and which expressly forbid him to lend money to young heirs. Must he wait till the borrower comes of age, a period generally not far distant? At that epoch, he will find means to get proper security for all debts contracted before; besides, the civil laws do not annihilate those of a minor; and if a debtor respects public opinion ever so little he

( 97 )

he may extricate himself by giving up, to his great loss, jewels and other valuable effects, which the Jew perhaps has already had in his possession for some time, as a security for his money. Even the parents themselves are ready to contribute something, in order that they may efface those errors of youth, the shame of which would be reflected upon them, and perhaps prevent their son from procuring an advantageous establishment.

What will become of the honest, industrious farmer, ruined by the Jews? His mind is debased by indigence, and he has only one step more to make to become a villain. Led astray by despair, he will soon pass that feeble barrier. If his wife has not yet died of a broken heart, she must become an accomplice in the crimes of her husband; and the children, educated amidst vice, will prepare for the following generation a race of worthless citizens. Ye unfortunate inhabitants of Sundgaw, answer, if ye have still sufficient strength. Is not this a just picture of the miserable situation to which ye have been reduced by the Jews? Your country, formerly fertile, and which enriched your fathers, scarcely produces

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( 98 )

the coarsest bread for their numerous descendants; while creditors, as merciless as deceitful, contend with you for the price of your labor. With what will you hereafter cultivate those fields of which you have no longer but a precarious enjoyment? Your cattle and your implements of husbandry have been sold, to satisfy these vipers, and to discharge only a part of the usurious interest accumulated on your heads. Being no longer in a condition to assist the fertility of the earth, you are reduced to the necessity of cursing that of your women, who have brought forth children to be miserable. You have been left only arms, wasted by pain and hunger; and if your rags still remain to attest your misery, and that you may bathe them in your tears, it is because the usurious Jew disdained to take them from you (8.)

Boulanvillier assures us, that during the wars of the last century, the Jews gave great assistance to the inhabitants of Alsace (9). I have no mind to contradict a fact which does them so much honor; but it is no less true, that one must melt into tears, and shudder with horror, in beholding the misfortunes occasioned

( 99 )

occasioned by the Jews in that province. Let the reader traverse it in the same manner as I, to be satisfied respecting the crimes of which I have given only a slight sketch; and if his heart is not callous, or deserving to be so, his heaving breast will suffer a sigh to escape from it; his soul will be open to pity, and his purse to indigence. It is very strange, that every journal almost is silent with respect to these events, of which that country was the theatre some years ago, and I shall only give a slight account of them, for the satisfaction of those who are unacquainted with them.

The Jews, greatly multiplied in Alsace, multiplied their usurious practices, and reduced many Christians there to beggary. A number of other Christians, threatened with the same fate, had recourse to reprisals, by opposing fraud to fraud. All of a sudden, Sundgaw was inundated with forged receipts; and the Jews raised the cry against imposture, and demanded the vengeance of the laws, without discontinuing their oppression. This affair, considered in its whole extent, exhibits a mystery of iniquity, a work of darkness, which it is neither possible nor prudent to examine

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amine too closely. The thunder-bolts of justice have not been able to crush all the criminals who were convicted; the Jews lament them; but let us pity the Christians, while we condemn them.

CHAP.

( 101 )

CHAPTER XII.

*In what Manner the Jews became a commercial People, and Usurers.*

THE political state of the European powers in the middle ages, furnished the Jews with many and even lawful means of enriching themselves. Every commercial resource was found naturally in their hands; for, the clergy excepted, of what kind of people were nations then composed? Of lords and slaves. The former, abandoned to dissipation, hunting, or military exploits, never thought of increasing their fortunes by the assistance of commerce; and had they even been acquainted with it, they would have disdained it. The latter could not easily quit their wretched habitations, in order to circulate the productions of different countries, nor had they any desire for augmenting the enjoyments of tyrants, who deprived them of all theirs. The Jews, for the most part were serfs, as well as others; but as they were not attached to the soil, they retained a certain portion of liberty, which

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( 102 )

opened a field for their industry. Buying and selling were occupations confined then exclusively to them, and they carried on the whole retail trade of Europe, especially in Germany. I shall leave the reader to judge whether, with a thirst for gain, an acuteness which in an instant could see what profits were to be made, a facility of corresponding with one another, and with their brethren in foreign countries, and opportunities of employing all these means, they could fail to amass riches. Their history is intimately connected with that of commerce, the spirit of which they and the Venetians revived in Europe. Their genius for calculation gave rise to the art of finance, till then almost unknown, and in a very short time specie passed entirely into their hands. They were, therefore, almost every where the only farmers of the revenues, until Lombardy sent forth a multitude of knaves, who, under the name of *Caossins* or *Corfins* (1), came to share in the spoils of the people, particularly in France and in England. Princes armed with all their power found it very difficult to extirpate these vermin who preyed upon their states. The *Corfins*, however, disappeared; but the Jews, repeatedly expelled, always found the  
secret

( 103 )

secret to return. During their exile, they had art enough to get possession of their effects, to consign them into the hands of their confidants by private letters, and to turn these letters into money, by the means of travellers and foreign merchants. This gave birth to letters of exchange, a thing unknown to the ancient Greek and Roman jurisprudence. Fischer gives the honor of this invention to the Germans (2). The author of *Instructions respecting Bills of Exchange*, ascribes it to the Florentines, of the faction of the Guelphs, when upon their expulsion by the Gibelins, they retired to France, and to other parts of Europe. But history attests the contrary: and according to what is related by John Villani, in some part of his work, the Jews were the inventors of bills of exchange and of insurance (3), adopted afterwards by the Venetians and the Hanse Towns. To the Jews, the French also are indebted for the establishment of the banks of Bayonne and Bourdeaux.

A Jew, then, eagerly employs these different means to elude vigilance, and to support himself by riches almost invisible, which may be sent every where, says a certain author, and

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( 104 )

which leave no traces behind them. They protect commerce, and cause it to flourish in every quarter of the globe; but this signal advantage is attended with one inconvenience; which is, that the merchant, become a citizen of the world, by the facility with which he can transport his fortune, which is contained in his port folio, is seldom a zealous patriot.

It is well known when and in what manner the *third estates* were created in the different countries of Europe, and how civil liberty was re-established, which was owing rather to the embarrassment into which Princes were thrown by the feudal system, than to the humanity of their hearts. We have already hinted, that the Jews were in part the occasional cause of the serfs being made free. We shall here offer a remark, which no person, perhaps, ever yet made; which is, that this enfranchisement became a barrier that often checked the robbery of the Jews. Corporations and communities, prompted by a desire of acquiring property, and put in action by the spring of liberty, gave themselves up to every kind of commercial speculation. The Christians, then, could in perfect security deal with their brethren; sincerity appeared in  
many

( 105 )

many contracts; and the rays of reason, enlightening the mazy path of usury, taught the people to be on their guard against the frauds of the usurer.

But if the Jews, become brokers in every country, worship no other idol but money, and are infested with no other leprosy but usury (4); and if these people, without country, have so often sold their honesty to the highest bidder, governments ought to blame themselves for having led them to this excess, by depriving them of all other means of subsisting. Why have they bent the unfortunate Hebrews under the yoke of the severest oppression, by loading them so heavily with taxes, that they are even made to pay for the infectious air which they breathe (5)? By interdicting them from following trades and professions, they have limited the objects of their industry, tied up their hands, and by these means compelled them to confine themselves entirely to commerce. A striking proof of this assertion is, that they have only applied themselves to this pursuit since their dispersion. The sacred history speaks of the trading fleets of Solomon, but no others can be mentioned; the genius of that great Prince created them;  
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( 106 )

and we find that they were not continued by any of his successors. Among the Hebrews, there were always very little circulation and little barter; their law appears to have been almost directly contrary to the spirit of commerce (6); and whilst, by the form of their government, they were confined to the cultivation of a fertile territory (7), they neglected commerce, though they inhabited a maritime country, abounding with excellent harbours.

But in the middle ages, commerce was the only avenue open for them to arrive at opulence. Some of them could not engage in it on account of old age, or disease; and others could not attain to any eminence, because considerable capitals were requisite for that purpose, and credit sufficient to secure the confidence of their creditors; thus the greater part of them being confined to the lowest traffic, necessity almost compelled them to add, by deception, to the moderate gain arising from a subaltern profit; because, when people are oppressed by thirst and hunger, when they are destitute of every resource, and when the affecting cries of a numerous family, imploring assistance, resound in their ears, they must either rob or perish. This proves that the  
Jews,

( 107 )

Jews, instead of being fitted for a country trade, would, on the contrary, be more dangerous in that part, especially if their bargains were not concluded for ready money.

It has almost always been observed, that the most numerous part of this nation stroll about under the rags of misery, whilst a small number have had the art of accumulating riches. But these riches, acquired by the most odious means, have often fallen a prey to the lawless rabble, under a pretence of recovering their property (8). When the storm was past, the same pretence authorized the Jew to be guilty of new acts of usury, which were succeeded by new depredations; and the Israelite, when he again appeared on the scene, according to an expression of Cardinal Hugue, contemporary with Saint Louis, without coining money, *of a sou Tournois, made a Parisis* \* (9); and according to Chrysippus, in Lucian, he drew interest from interest, as one consequence is drawn from another, because he regulated his

\* A *sou Parisis* is a *sou* which contains a fourth more than a *sou Tournois*, because the money formerly coined at Paris, was a fourth more in value than that coined at Tours. The common *sou*, therefore, is worth only twelve *deniers*, whereas the *sou Parisis* is worth fifteen.—T.

usury

( 108 )

usury in proportion to the risque which he ran of losing his principal. Always exposed, therefore, to the rapacity of the people, and of the Exchequer, the Jews were under the necessity of attaching themselves to money particularly; for being more portable than the gifts of fortune, it is at the same time the representative of all the rest.

In proportion to the increase of humanity among people, and of wisdom in governments, the evils of which I have spoken became less frequent; but formerly, Princes and the chiefs of nations pretended to be ignorant of them, in order that they might have a share in the spoils. How often have they been seen to confiscate the property of the Jews, and to exonerate their debtors (10)! It has, without doubt, been remarked, that this unlawful treatment involved the innocent with the guilty, essentially wounded without reason the right of property, and exceeded, therefore, the bounds of the sovereign authority. Justice, however, wished sometimes to proceed in a more equitable manner; but if we examine the different regulations made in different ages, respecting this object, we shall find that they are often unjust, and for the most part useless.

C H A P-

( 109 )

C H A P T E R XIII.

*Means hitherto employed to suppress the usurious Practices of the Jews. Insufficiency of these Means.*

I Have somewhere read, but I do not recollect in what author, a legislative act passed in some country, by which the Jews were strictly commanded not to purchase stolen goods. This order ought to appear strange, especially as it added nothing to the obligation imposed by the law of nature, since it inflicted no punishment upon the offenders who broke it. The advice given them by a certain author, who has written upon artificial fire-works, not to burn powder magazines, seems to be equally efficacious; but a circumstance still stranger, perhaps, is that in other countries, the Jews have had a right not to return stolen goods, except when they received value for them. This we learn from different testimonies, and above all, from a Bishop of Olmutz (1). A very singular right also is the permission granted to the Jews, by the Emperors Charles V. and Ferdinand



( 110 )

nand I (2), and by various tribunals, among others, the parliament of Metz, to exact no higher interest than the Christians (3); whilst all other legislative codes attest the efforts of these two powers to suppress usury.

The fourth council of the Latran, in 1215, desirous of obliging them to repair the injury they had done by their oppression, forbade them to have any intercourse with the Christians, till they had satisfied that law. Other councils (4) renewed these ordinances, which were too vague to be put in execution. A council of Albi, in 1254, and another of Montpellier, four years after (5), were much more severe; they exonerated the Christians from paying those debts which they owed to the Jews, provided they could swear that the latter had made use of usurious practices in their dealings with them. People, however, at that period, were not sufficiently enlightened to perceive, that such a decree exposed the Jews to the avarice of their debtors, and furnished villainy with arms against them. An assembly held at Melun, under St. Louis, absolutely forbade borrowing from the Jews (6), and the sovereign Pontiff Paul IV. renewing a statute of the council of Frisinguen (7), deprived

( 111 )

prived them of the liberty of receiving interest. It may be readily perceived, how easy it was to elude these two laws, the first, by giving to loans the name of sales, and the second, by making the interest a part of the principal.

An edict of the year 1228, under the minority of St. Louis, had already ordered, that when debts were contracted with the Jews, three copies should be drawn out of the promissory note or bond, one of which should be put into the hands of the king's officers, another into those of the debtor, and the third into those of the Jewish creditor (8). There was a time, when debts, contracted with the Jews in Normandy, were not accounted legal until they had been registered by the bailiff, before whom creditors were obliged to summon those who borrowed from them.

In Hesse, they were forbidden by edicts published in 1728 and 1748, to lend on private security, a sum exceeding twenty florins. In the territories of Darmstadt, it was necessary, that if the borrower was married, he should be accompanied with his wife; besides this, the Jews were forbidden, under pain of losing the interest, to lend for any longer time  
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( 112 )

than two years (9). All these formalities, prescribed in this manner, produced that effect which was to be expected from them: they approached towards the end, without ever reaching it.

By an Imperial law, Jews who had money owing to them by Christians, were forbid to transfer their debts to any one, under pain of losing the sum due. The author already quoted (10), says, he sorry is to see refused an edict, which he calls a very wise one; but I do not know on what grounds, for all that it could produce was, to oblige the Jew to exercise his usurious practices on his own account, and certainly this was not sufficient to check his rapacity.

By a recess of the empire in 1441, it was ordered, that all deeds between the Jews and Christians should be executed before a magistrate; to the former, it forbade all private deeds, except in fair time, because it was supposed, that in public it would be more difficult to practice fraud: several Sovereigns adopted this law. We have, therefore, seen Louis XV. by a declaration of 1733, forbid the Jews to receive notes from the Christians, unless attested by witnesses; in Lorraine also, the

( 113 )

the good prince Leopold, by his edict of December the 30th, 1728, ordered, that there should be no dealings with the Jews by notes of this nature; that for loans and bargains by sale, no engagements should be entered into, but by deeds executed before a notary; and that in cases of borrowing money, the interest should never be added to the principal, in order to accumulate, &c. In different countries these ordinances have been repeated an hundred times, and violated an hundred thousand. Experience has shewn the inutility of all these means; and, like the hydra in the fable, usury continually revives to make fresh ravages.

These are the principal laws which have been made in different countries and different ages, against the usury of the Jews. Princes and councils also have made others, less important; but to enumerate them would be as tedious as useless: and it clearly appears, that the insufficiency of them gives us reason to wish for new ones. Bafnage is very angry, that councils should attempt to regulate what is out of their sphere. He ought, however, to have remarked, that after the second race of our kings, and in the middle ages, many coun-



( 114 )

councils, both in France and Germany, were a kind of parliamentary assemblies, in which statutes were formed by the concurrence of two powers, and besides, princes were eager to confirm ecclesiastical decrees, in order to ensure the execution of them. On this account, Clotaire II. confirmed that of the fifth council of Paris, in 615, which forbade the Jews to bring any action against a Christian (11). This law, preferable to all those which followed, would in a great measure have extirpated usury, had it been put in force with rigor. The senate of Basle, by a regulation of December the 11th, 1768, forbade the Jews to carry on any trade in horses and cattle, except on those days when the market was held in the city, and in the fairs of the canton; it forbade them besides, to conclude any bargain even on those days except for ready money. The plan which I am going to explain, approaches near to the spirit of the council of Paris, already mentioned, and to the law of the magistrates of Basle. Since on this subject one may venture to expose ones ideas, we shall here give ours.

C H A P.

( 115 )

CHAPTER XIV.

*New Means proposed to suppress the Usury of the Jews.*

WHAT is usury? The acceptation of this word is not yet fixed by a definition universally received in our moral code, and this is a great deficiency, which eternises the disputes of the greater part of divines with politicians. Several casuists, however, whose number is continually encreasing, and whose logic is forcible, authorise interest upon money lent, at the rate fixed by the Sovereign, and this they do so much the more readily, as the church has not yet pronounced dogmatically on the subject. This is not a proper place for examining this question, which has been lately treated by several authors; but we may predict, that in less than half a century, they will all be unanimous in their opinions. We ought then to wish for the arrival of that happy moment, which will raise up a powerful barrier against usury, whilst the facility of making a lucrative loan under the sanction of law, will multiply the resources of indigence.

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( 116 )

gence. It has been observed, that usurious practices were more common, especially in Alsace, after the prohibition forbidding those who had possessions in mort-main to purchase annuities; and how great advantages may be derived from the religious houses, when people think that they may, without wounding their consciences, receive an yearly income from money lent for a certain stated period? One Christian then finding assistance in the purse of another, will be less exposed to fall a prey to Jewish rapacity.

Another means, which checking the usurious practices of the Jews, will afford a relief to the unfortunate, would be to establish in every capital city, a Lombard, or *Mont de Piété*,\* which might possess the confidence of the public. Money might be lent there on security, without interest, or at least the

\* Lombard, in France called *Mont de Piété*, a name given in Holland and Flanders to an establishment, authorized by government, to lend money upon pledges. It was invented by the Lombard Jews. The interest paid is regulated by a magistrate, and is moderate; but the great profits of the Lombard, arise from the sale of the effects at the end of the year, in case they are not redeemed.—T.

interest

( 117 )

interest might be extremely moderate, and country people, as well as citizens and Jews, might have access to these places. We know how much Italy has been benefited from institutions of this kind, established by some of the Popes, to restrain the usury of the Hebrews, as appears from the inscription upon that of Bologna (1), and the advantages of them cannot be too much commended.

But these accessory means do not strike directly at the root of usury; and it is necessary that we should attack the monster in its retreat.

Compel the Jews to sell only for ready money, annul all securities (2) that they may hereafter receive from the Christians, and these expedients will perhaps be the most efficacious that can be employed to suppress usurious deception. Securities are intended only to warrant the payment of debts; and when usury shall have no other security than the honesty of the debtors, it is doubtful, whether to commit an act of injustice, a Jew will leave himself at the mercy of those who have been his victims. To lend, therefore, upon a simple promise, and give credit for goods upon a promise, will never be agreeable to his taste,

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( 118 )

for he augurs so much the more unfavourably of the honesty of mankind, because his own serves him as a point of comparison to judge from. To lend or sell before witnesses, will never secure him, though there were an hundred of them, because he can bring no action for debt against a Christian; he cannot claim the support of the law, in case the debtor denies the debt. People are not tempted to receive as ready money, bills which they can make no use of after they have discounted them; by this law, therefore, the usurious agency of the Jews will be annihilated. An essential clause in this law would be to fix a time, reckoning from its being passed, in which every Jew, holding bills from a Christian, should be obliged to register them in the Register Office of the place where he expects to be paid for them, under pain of his title being invalidated, by neglecting to comply with this regulation. It is not difficult to comprehend the intention of this clause. It would prevent the Jew from coming ten or twenty years after to present securities, recently forged, but ante-dated in such a manner as to elude the law.

I see only one method of eluding it, and that is, by making use of bills payable to the bearer;

( 119 )

bearer; it is well known, that in these the creditor is not mentioned. In the moment of distress, you borrow an hundred crowns of a Jew, you give him a note, payable to the bearer, for one hundred and fifty, which he will sell for one hundred and thirty, and hence arises his gain. By ancient regulations, such acts were forbidden in France. Louis XV. abolished them anew in 1716; but by a declaration of January 21, 1721, he again established the use of them. The inconveniences arising from these notes have been always balanced by their advantages; and if we are desirous of reforming a people, if we are anxious that the Jews should become good citizens, the proscription of such bills ought to form a part of the plan adopted to realize that wish; at least the use of them ought to be subjected to such formalities as would raise a barrier against the abuse of them. Such would be that of requiring, in cases where usury was suspected, that the holders should declare, and prove from whom they received them; though different arrets have decided that they are not under this obligation. Such also would be that of subjecting these bills to inspectors, who might point out, in a certain manner, the first

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( 120 )

possessor of the bill; in order, that on the slightest doubt, the Register Office might be consulted, which would clear up the whole affair.

When deeds, signed without witnesses, have been subjected to some formalities, letters of exchange, and bills payable to order, and to the bearer, have always been exempted from this law, as constituting a separate class. This distinction was made in the edict of October, 1705; and before that, by the declaration of May the 15th, 1703; which exempted them from the order of the edict passed in December, 1684. The necessity of these formalities, which we propose for notes payable to bearer, would a little retard the circulation of property; but this slight inconvenience would be sufficiently compensated by the happiest effects. However, even in case it should not be thought proper to proscribe these notes entirely; and though the utility of the proposed formalities should be contested, an edict, annulling the securities in the hands of the Jews, would almost always answer its proper end, for the following reason. The Jew, rendered incapable of converting his notes into cash personally, cannot commit a fraud, but by trust-

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( 121 )

ing to Christians who are Jews in disposition, and to whom he privately sells his notes, payable to bearer, or who lend him their names to bills of other kinds. But the villain who is capable of infringing the laws of the state, by conniving at such a manœuvre, would be equally capable of informing against the Jew as a violator of the same laws, or of cheating his employer, who could not bring an action against him. Besides, those who lend their names must be paid; and those bills which pass in trade do not bring to the seller the total of the sum mentioned. The diminution of gain, in either of these cases, and the dread of incurring very heavy penalties, which the delinquents would be obliged to pay, will lessen and even annihilate the desire of committing a fraud, which could not be accomplished on either side without running great risque. The law, therefore, can never be eluded, but by very indirect means, extremely difficult, if not impossible.

This law is not contrary, but in appearance, to the principles of civil liberty, the advantages of which we wish to extend to the whole nation. Though corrosive substances be employed against an inveterate disorder which cannot



( 122 )

cannot be overcome but by violent remedies, we always say, and with justice, that they tend to the recovery of the patient. Besides, the Jews form only a very small part of any nation whatever, which may be most interested in checking their extortion; the government, therefore, which chooses to pursue the proper means, will equally attain to its end, which is to promote the happiness of the greater number.

It is doubtless unnecessary to remark, that all the proposed regulations will cease to have effect, when circumstances render them of no farther use. It may be readily judged, that an edict will not suddenly destroy usury in its principle; for this vice is too deeply rooted among the Hebrew people, and the character of a nation cannot be changed in the same manner as the uniform of a military body. This change cannot be operated but by length of time, and we have explained the means which ought to contribute towards it. The reader has seen in the twelfth chapter, that the propensity of the Jews to usury, is the consequence of their wretched situation in the different countries which they inhabit; it is therefore evident, that a change in their condition  
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( 123 )

will produce another in their conduct. When they become citizens, and apply to other pursuits than commerce, usury will be no more prevalent among them than among other people, to whom they will be perfectly similar in every thing. In expectation of the heart being converted, let us put a stop to the ravages of usury, by rendering it inactive; and every one knows, that a fire is soon extinguished when it is not supplied with fuel.

C H A P.

( 124 )

CHAPTER XV.

*Possibility of reforming the Jews. This Reformation may be reconciled with their Manners, their Prejudices, and their religious Principles.*

SOME writers, and the celebrated Michaelis at their head, pretend that the changes proposed to bring about a revolution among the Jews, are incompatible with their religious and moral constitution, and that it would be in vain to attempt to reform them (1). These authors have wasted abundance of reasoning and erudition, to prove a thesis which we are going to controvert. We shall present our objections in all their force; we shall add new ones; and we shall answer them all; but let us previously give a clear idea of the true state of the question.

It is not necessary to examine whether the Jews, considered in themselves, are fit for every art and trade, and for discharging all the functions of citizens. Their residence in Palestine proves the possibility by the fact; but it is our business to enquire, whether civil functions,

( 125 )

functions, and the arts and the trades, such as they are exercised among us, can be reconciled with the laws, the morality, and the present prejudices of the Jews. The difficulty arises from their religion comprehending every action of life, in regulations which our political constitutions will never adopt; they would wish rather to subject them to the observation of national laws. Abstracting from the truth or falsity of religious principles, in every creed, the precepts and the morality alone ought to be considered as invariable; for the ritual laws may be modified, or at least the exercise of them may be omitted, on account of the difficulty or impossibility of observing them; and though ignorance and prejudice have sometimes brought external ceremonies to a level with dogmatical and moral principles, every sensible person, of whatever religion, has been convinced, that to omit rites, in certain circumstances, is not to abjure them. They have been of opinion, that without offending against the rights of the Deity, one might bend under the yoke of necessity; and the Jews have done it an hundred times without remorse. I speak not only of laws merely local,



( 126 )

local, such as those which relate to sacrifices, the eating of the paschal lamb, &c. but of those also, which by their nature are applicable to every place whatever. Is there any law more precise than that which enjoins a man to marry the widow of his brother, if he dies without issue? But what Jew at present would scruple to deviate from it (2)? Is his conscience disturbed because he can no longer inflict the punishment appointed in the pentateuch; and because he is not permitted to stone adulterers, blasphemers and rebellious children? We have seen the Hebrews deviate from their law in important points, even when they were under no necessity of doing so; such as their being prohibited from having paintings in their houses; notwithstanding which, many Jews, especially in Italy, have in their possession, preserve, and are fond of the masterpieces of eminent artists.

Many learned Jews, with whom I have frequently conversed, had a very confined creed. They reduced the fundamental dogmas of their law to three: the unity of God; the immortality of the soul, and future rewards and punishments. To many of them the coming of the Messiah is only an object of hope, and not  
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( 127 )

of belief; they admit only of three things, which ought to be avoided, even at the hazard of one's life—idolatry, incest, and murder—comprehending, no doubt, those crimes which thence proceed, or which are analagous to them. After this, they make a distinction between precepts and permissions, as divorce and polygamy, then between essential precepts and regulations of the police. In the latter class are included the laws respecting majority, doweries, the order of succession, guardians for children, &c. all things extremely variable, and of such a nature as to be modified or changed. They allow that the ceremonial laws which concern agriculture, and the distinction of clean and unclean food, were merely local; some were dietetic rules, that concerned certain unwholesome kinds of meat in Palestine; and others tended, as we say at present, to keep the Hebrews at a distance from the ceremonies of Paganism. This observation unveils the spirit of several constitutions, which one is almost tempted to consider as ridiculous, but which were the consequence of a policy equally wise and profound. Maimonides himself has acknowledged it.

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( 128 )

The principal rites in the Jewish worship are circumcision, observance of the Sabbath, festivals, &c. and perhaps there is no religion, the doctors of which can so easily relax, respecting practices considered as indispensable. By conniving at a hypocritical disguise, the Jews of the province of Honan have adopted a part of the Chinese worship, and honor Confucius (4). At Salonica, the followers of Zabathai-Zevi, who are very numerous, frequent the mosques, but never the synagogues, and yet they are Jews in their hearts (5). How often, in the middle ages, have they been seen, and still appear in Spain, under the specious veil of Christianity, to Judaize, in secret, without being circumcised; to labor on their sabbath-day, and to abstain from no kind of food (6), without being reputed by their Rabbis deserters of their worship. Moses, indeed, by the laws which he prescribed to the Jews, separated them from other people; a prudent and wise plan, to strengthen the union of the Israelites with their brethren; to counteract the inclination which they had for imitating their depraved manners, and the idolatrous worship of the nations bordering on Judea. On this account, they were reproved for forming marriage

( 129 )

alliances with the Gentiles; but did these laws, respecting dangers, dissolve their social union, and were they subject to no exceptions? Did they prevent Hester from lawfully espousing Ahafuerus; and Solomon from forming an alliance with Hiram? Did they condemn the Hebrew, when he went to sharpen his plow-share among the Philistines; when he received the officers of the Queen of Sheba, and when he was a minister or courtier in the palace of Babylon? A disparity of worship does not bring men nearer each other; but this inconvenience, which is common to all religions, weakens civil bonds only; it will never destroy them, but among men, who by their creed are commanded to hate those who have one different from theirs.

This last observation naturally leads to an objection which has been often repeated. It is by this principle, say some, that the Jew is an enemy to all those who are not of the same persuasion. As for me, I have spoken very openly respecting his aversion to us, without fearing to be reproached with contradiction, because this hatred was never prescribed by the law. Shall we find it in those sacred books, which formally and so often command, that the

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( 130 )

stranger should be received in the same manner as the widow and the fatherless? and which descends even to order, that the ears of corn in harvest, and the grapes in the time of the vintage, shall be left for the benefit of the stranger and the poor?

The ferocious maxims of some Rabbis, too much adopted, without doubt, are not, however, generally approved; and the Jews oppose to them a great number of doctors who have written in a different manner. Maimonides, accused of having in one of his works pronounced a sentence of proscription against all idolaters, nevertheless says, that an Israelite, who does not love all men who are followers of the religion of nature, is not acquainted with his own. Almost all the symbolical books of the Jews, printed for these three centuries, have in their title page an axiom of the same author, which expressly commands the Jews to love all other nations (7). Though the custom of prefixing this motto to all their works, may be owing to political affectation, we can at least still say, that the nation publicly disavows that infernal morality which enjoins them to hate all other nations. The Hebrew doctors have concurred to degrade these

( 131 )

these people; but we shall explain by what means they may be made to contribute towards their reformation. We shall begin by them, and we shall do for them what we have never yet done for ourselves, who have so many treatises on education, and not one on that of ecclesiastics, who are charged with the instruction of three fourths of the kingdom (8). The Rabbis will have a very powerful influence over the education of the Jews; as these people always swear *in verba magistri*

The Jews, however, though they give themselves up blindly to the decisions of the doctors, may be still detached from them. Certain constitutions, indeed, forbid them to read the works of Christians; but these prohibitions, unknown to some, never check others, when, prompted by curiosity, they wish to improve themselves by foreign knowledge. Some of them even have adopted the Platonic philosophy, that is to say, what ought to have the fewest attractions for them (9); since the doctrine of the Trinity was always, as is well-known, a stumbling-block and an offence to the Jews; and the idea so long received, that the distinction of three persons was in Plato, must have inspired them with an aversion for

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( 132 )

the Grecian sage. A nation, undoubtedly, who considered it as an honor to have possessed a Mendelshon\*, begin to be enlightened by the dawn of reason. Many of the Jews, disgusted already with all the nonsense of the Rabbis, expunge the additions, made by man, to their law, without violating the truth of its principles. They even complain, that others carry liberty of thinking to licentiousness; for mankind too often run from one extreme to another, and from the most stupid credulity fall into downright scepticism.

With regard to the hatred of the Jews for other people, we have explained the motives

\* Moses Mendelshon, that is to say, *Moses the son of Mendel*, a Jew of Berlin, and one of the most celebrated writers of Germany, died in that city, at the age of fifty-seven, in the year 1785. He began his literary career by a work entitled *Jerusalem*, in which he pretends that the Jews have a law and not a revealed religion; that dogmas can never be revealed; and that the only doctrine of his nation is the religion of Nature. He obtained much more honor by his *Phædon*, or *Dissertation on the Spirituality and Immortality of the Soul*, translated into French in 1773; in which that grand principle, the foundation of all morality, is displayed with the sagacity of an enlightened philosopher, and the charms of an elegant writer. On account of this work, some Journalists have styled him the *Socrates of the Jews*.

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( 133 )

of it. The cause and the effect are correlative; let us suppress the cause, and we shall find that they have only waited for a change on our part, to change in respect to us; besides, a man who entertains hatred, must always make some sacrifice. Readers, admit this principle, not by way of favor, but from justice. The Jew, harassed by continued hostilities, and by the most unjust oppression, has sometimes repelled force by force, or opposed hatred to fury. This conduct is not unnatural, though it be contrary to reason. But shall we consider the momentary paroxysms of vengeance as the usual and necessary state of his soul? Is there any force of argument in saying, if the Jew hates us, because we load him with misfortunes, he will hate us also when we treat him with kindness?

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( 134 )

CHAPTER XVI.

*The same Subject continued.*

BUT the Jews, I shall be told, are incapable of being reformed, because they are absolutely worthless. I reply, that we see few of them commit murder, or other enormous crimes, that call forth public vengeance; but their abominable meanness produces base actions. Mr. Michaelis assures us, that in Germany, of twenty-five criminals imprisoned or condemned, twenty-four are always Jews. This is the assertion of Mr. Michaelis—but, in the first place, an assertion is no proof.—The truth of this, however, might have been easily ascertained, by examining and producing the criminals.—Secondly, supposing the circumstance to be as true as it is doubtful, this would prove nothing but against the German Jews; and lastly, it would still be necessary to establish as a certainty that this perversity proceeds immediately from their religion, or their natural disposition. That it is not inspired by the law, is evident; shall we believe, then, that it is innate? Some peevish

( 135 )

peevish philosophers, indeed, have pretended, that man is born wicked; but happily for the honor and comfort of humanity, this system has been banished to the class of absurd and mortifying hypotheses. So many laws made against the Jews, always suppose in them a natural and indelible worthlessness; but these laws, which are the fruit of hatred or prejudice, have no other foundation but the motive which gives rise to them. This perversity is not so inherent in their character as to affect every individual. We see talents and virtues shine forth in them wherever they begin to be treated as men, especially in the territories of the Pope, which have so long been their terrestrial paradise; in Holland, Prussia, and even among us. Hertz, Block, and Marz render the Jewish nation illustrious at present in Germany; and the Hague is honored by a Pinto. We must, therefore, believe these people susceptible of morality, until we are shewn, that they have invincible obstacles in their physical organization, and in their religious and moral constitution.

Let us cherish the virtues, but let us not be so unreasonable as to require them from those whom we have compelled to become vicious.

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( 136 )

Let us reform their education, to reform their hearts; it has long been observed, that they are men as well as we, and they are so before they become Jews.

Mr. Michaelis objects also, that this nation being in constant opposition to general manners, will never become patriotic. We allow that it will be difficult to incorporate them into universal society; but between difficulty and impossibility, there is the same difference as between impossibility and possibility: I have myself remarked, and even proved, that hitherto the Jews have been invariable in their manners and customs; but the greater part of their customs are not contrary to civil functions; and with regard to those which may appear to be incompatible with the duties of the citizen, they are preserved only by the uniformity of that conduct, which all nations observe towards them. If we do not maintain, with Helvetius, that the character and disposition of man depend altogether on his education, we at least allow, that in a great measure they are the result of circumstances. Can the Jews ever become patriots? This is a question proposed by those who reproach them with not loving a country that

( 137 )

that drove them from its bosom; and with not cherishing people who exercised their fury against them—that is to say, who were their executioners.

Flatterers, in every country, extol the attachment of the people to their sovereigns, and to their country; thus gratifying the vanity of the master at the expence of truth. Study the characters of men, in different countries, and you will find, that pleasure and interest are the grand springs by which they are actuated; provided the people sleep securely in their habitations, and enjoy there in peace, the fruits of their fields, which they cultivate at their ease, and provided they are not subjected to the scourge of the law, nor oppressed by the iron hand of despotism, they are satisfied; but under any other circumstances, they shew something more than indifference with regard to their government, as well as to their sovereign: they even offer up secret vows for a revolution, because they imagine that a new order of things will procure them happiness; and they know nothing of patriotism but the name, except, perhaps, in places where they have a share, though at a distance, in the legislative or executive authority.



( 138 )

city. We may, therefore, lay it down as a fact, that the character of the French, for two years past, has acquired more energy, and displayed more patriotism than in the two last centuries.

The Jews, every where dispersed, yet no where established, have only had the spirit of a body which is entirely different from the spirit of a nation; for this reason, as has been observed, it is neither that of the English at London, nor that of the Dutch at the Hague, nor that of the French at Metz; they form always a state within the state, because they are never treated as children of the country. In republics even, where the people taking an active part in the legislation, are subject only to themselves, the Jews are always passive, and counted as nothing; they possess no landed property; though commerce, which generally renders men citizens of the world, procures them portable riches, that afford them a small consolation for the opprobrium thrown upon them, and the load of oppressive laws under which they groan. You require that they should love their country—first give them one.

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( 139 )

But, says Mr. Michaelis, they will always look towards Palestine, as the seat of their repose; and will never consider other countries but as places of passage, without ever attaching themselves to them. Whom must we believe, him or Boulanger? The latter assures us, that the fanaticism of the Jews begins to cool; and that, in process of time, it may be totally extinguished. They hope to return to Palestine, but they hope at the same time to conquer the whole world, which will secure to them the possession of other countries. Besides, this return is fixed at an uncertain epoch; the Talmud forbids them to think of it; and to take any step in consequence of their expectations, until striking prodigies announce the arrival of their deliverer.

At the moment when the weight of misfortune oppresses the Jew, and when he eats with trembling the bread of sorrow, he sighs, perhaps, for the arrival of the Messiah. I say, perhaps, for all do not consider that event as a very favourable prospect; since, according to some Rabbis, a severe judgement must previously try those who are to be made partakers of the felicity that will thence arise to men. The exclamation of a certain doctor is well known,

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( 140 )

*let him come, provided I do not see him!* However this may be, his coming will appear less desirous to our Israelite, when the humanity of the world shall suffer him to breathe in peace under his paternal roof, become the abode of tranquillity and happiness, which to him will possess all the charms of novelty. The comforts of the present life make people too often forget those promised in the next; the Jew has his sensations as well as we, and his hopes will never induce him to abandon present enjoyments, when he can obtain them. When he is once become a member of the state, attached to it by the ties of pleasure, security, liberty, and ease, the spirit of the body will become diminished in him; he will not be tempted to transport his riches elsewhere, when his landed property has fixed him in that country where he has acquired it (2); and he will cherish his mother, that is to say his country, the interests of which will be confounded with his own.

CHAP.

( 141 )

CHAPTER XVII.

*Is it possible to train up the Jews to the Arts and Trades, and to Agriculture?*

**WOULD** it be best to suffer the Jews to vegetate in a state of inactivity, or to rectify their commerce, if it be true, that they are calculated neither for pursuing agriculture nor any useful art? This we are assured of, by a German writer (1)—but what proof does he bring?—Not the smallest. It is, therefore, unnecessary to refute an assertion, which is disproved by experience, and which that author himself shews to be false; since he believes them to be fit for commerce, the combinations of which require at least as much penetration as the mechanical arts.

In Europe there are very few Jews who are artists, or follow trades, and this, perhaps, will be ascribed to their want of aptitude for them. We, however, often see some of them display great ingenuity; we see several of them succeed in engraving; and at present Prussia considers it as an honor to possess Abraham, the best cutter of dyes for medals in that country.



( 142 )

try. In the East, though the greater part of the commerce is in their hands, they are dyers, silk-weavers, &c. (2). In the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, in Ethiopia, where they are so numerous, and on the Eastern coasts of Africa, where trade is but languid, they are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and weavers—in short, they exercise different trades (3): and our Jews would soon become like those of the East, and of Africa, did governments, notwithstanding the outcry against their hatred, deign to instruct them and to employ them in the mechanical arts.

Many Christians, perhaps, will with pain and a jealous eye see them admitted into the body of tradesmen. Must we, therefore, force them to be admitted? By no means.—We intend not to attack prejudices by violence, but in a more efficacious manner: rivalry will soon excite an emulation, which will be of great advantage to the arts, by bringing them to perfection; and also to the buyer, by reducing the price of goods, as there will then be a competition in the sale of them. Of what consequence, therefore, is it, should they be received into the body of tradesmen, if their exclusion

( 143 )

exclusion deprives them of no advantage or privilege?

The greater part of trades require very little money for the payment of premiums during apprenticeship, or for procuring a stock of such instruments as may be necessary. We shall soon see tender and feeling hearts, as well as philanthropic societies, open subscriptions for instructing young tradesmen gratis, and the gifts of fortune will flow through the channels of benevolence. In certain places, the Jews may even be obliged to inhabit only such houses as they have built, as well as to wear none but stuffs of their own manufacture; and it may be readily perceived, that to avoid the imputation of injustice or folly, these regulations will require to be modified by the circumstances of time and place. Besides, let a free circulation be granted to their works, let their industry be encouraged, and let their efforts be crowned with rewards and distinction. Necessity, that imperious mistress, will soon expand the faculties of the Israelite, whose pliable genius can bend to every thing; and honor, together with the love of gain, will give them more energy.

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( 144 )

Here, then, we have brought the nation to a cultivation of the arts and of trades; and even though they should still retain their rapacious disposition, it would be hardly possible for them to acquire any fraudulent gain, as the productions of the mechanical arts being constantly subject to the inspection of the purchaser, it is generally easy to determine their value. Another advantage is, that a more intimate connection would be established between the Jews and the Christians.

It will doubtless be asked, if they must be made farmers also.—This is a point to which I earnestly wish to attain. No people, perhaps, were ever so much employed in agriculture as the Israelites in Palestine, according to the remark of the judicious Fleury (4). It must, however, be allowed, that every thing belonging to rural economy, is as foreign to their taste as to their knowledge. Those who enjoy hereditary possessions, are unacquainted even with the elements of gardening, and are under the necessity of having recourse to the assistance of the Christians.

Since their dispersion, the Jews have never been engaged in agriculture. Petachias, who in the twelfth century travelled into the East,

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( 145 )

saw some, however, who were employed in that way near Niniveh (5). In the same century, when Benjamin de Tudela visited Greece, he found Mount Parnassus inhabited by two hundred Jews, whose occupation was to cultivate pulse and other vegetables (6); but that we may quote facts nearer to our own times, there are some Jews who live by cultivating the earth in the northern parts of Persia (7), and also in Lithuania. Mr. Coxe pretends, that the latter is the only country in Europe where the Jews apply to agriculture (8); but are there none in the Ukraine? In the last century, Cardinal Commendon saw many who subsisted by husbandry, and whose honest labours were not disgraced by usury (9). His assertion is very credible: though the dew of heaven does not always fertilize the field of the labourer, its benediction seems almost always to attend his profession; and amongst the inferior classes of society, there is not one, perhaps, in which we shall meet with purer manners, or more incorruptible probity.

It may be readily conceived, that the Jews are calculated for exercising trades, the greater part of which require less strength than ingenuity; but it will perhaps be said, agriculture

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( 146 )

requires a robust constitution, which, according to your opinion, the Jew has not. The doubts started on the possibility of rendering them farmers, do not prevent us from embracing the affirmative side of the question; for it is to be observed, that we do not pass suddenly from one extreme to another: we do not say to the Jew, to-day shut your shop, and to-morrow cultivate that field. He may in time acquire knowledge, which at present he has not; he may call in the assistance of other hands, and Christian servants will second his labours. The Jews of Alsace, in letters patent granted to them in 1784, were refused the latter advantage, though they were permitted to exercise agriculture themselves; but the French government ought to annul a prohibition, the inconveniencies of which might be easily shewn.

Rural labors will then invite the Hebrews to those plains which were formerly moistened with the blood of their fathers, and which will be moistened afterwards with the sweat of their brows. They will abandon their wretched habitations, in order to breathe pure air on the hills; and soon, stimulated by interest, their arms, already active, will be strengthened  
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( 147 )

by exercise; while this physical advantage will be attended with one of the highest importance to morals, since the first of the arts is the most favourable to virtue.

It is more than probable, that in a little time, the Jews may be made husbandmen; and that they will soon find themselves happy in draining a marsh, or improving and fertilizing waste land, where they intend to fix their habitations. Some of our colonies, and several of our provinces, such as Bretagne and Guyenne, are in want of hands; let the voice of government invite them, therefore, into these countries, by dispersing them among the Christians. If Spain, impoverished amidst its treasures, had known its real interests, its plains would have been now flourishing under the hands of three hundred thousand Jews, whom it expelled (10).

It is not to be imagined, that the Jews, when become farmers, will ever follow the regulations of the pentateuch, respecting the sabbatical year, and the year of jubilee: persuaded that ordinances were merely local, they have always confined them within the boundaries of Palestine. Too happy, had they comprehended that their religion, being the

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( 148 )

only one, the whole of which became every where impossible to be practised—the Eternal called them into a new alliance, of which the first was only a figure.

There are, indeed, certain prohibitions concerning the rustic art, which, if we believe Leo de Modena, are still thought to be obligatory; such as that of sowing miscellane \*, and of crossing the breed of different kinds of animals, in order to procure mules. The Jew, perhaps, will not yoke the ass with the ox, nor in cloth intermix worsted with thread (11); but in these we only see customs different from ours, and not great inconveniences: it is very doubtful, whether the Rabbis would enforce the observation of these statutes. The nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, in which they will be found, contains others also, respecting the preservation of the beard, the use of which, however, the Portuguese Jews have abandoned. Let us not be under any apprehensions, therefore, that they will remain long subjected to the regulations of the Talmud, of which those concerning agriculture are very happily the least absurd. Let us hope, that the Jew will soon place these reveries on a

\* A mixture of corn.

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( 149 )

level with those of Matthew Lansberg. He will first read the prohibition which forbids to engraft, or to have in ones garden any grafted trees, whilst he is permitted to eat of the fruit (12); this absurd contradiction will disgust him, and the breath of cultivated reason will soon entirely dispel such chimeras.

The following question naturally arises here. Will you oblige the Jews to cease from labour on Sundays and festivals? two days following in the week will be then lost to labor. Will you permit them to be idle on these days? This innovation will offend the people; and it appears that it ought not to be allowed, at least openly; but the Jews may be forbid external or too noisy labour, which might disturb sacred worship, without however rendering them entirely inactive. There will be no necessity to pry into their houses, to see whether they are employed in beating their hemp, or in sifting their grain, while their spouses are busy with their needle and work-basket; and when a perishing crop, or other reasons require the Jews to work on Sundays, they may have the same liberty as the Christians. It is well known how strict they are in the observation

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( 150 )

of the sabbath; but notwithstanding this, we have reason to believe, that the Rabbis will relax upon that head, when their decisions come to be authorized by necessity; and the Jew will give up his scruples, when he is warranted by the infallibility of his doctors.

C H A P.

( 151 )

CHAPTER XVIII.

*It is possible to form the Jews to the military Art. Review of this Chapter, and the two preceding.*

THE Emperor has lately enrolled among his troops several thousands of Jews, and time will shew, what they may have performed. In the mean while, let us examine what they are capable of doing. If I can convert a Jew into a farmer, why not make him a soldier? Why should he be confined, as certain people wish, to defend the country in which he lives by his money, and not by his person? Among the Romans, the military profession required a robust constitution; the soldier, loaded with heavy arms, carried provisions also sufficient for several days; and whether in peace or in war, he preserved his vigour, by the severity of the labour to which he was continually exposed: whereas, under our modern governments, the soldier, in the time of peace, is enervated by inactivity, that leads to debauchery, which effeminates him more and more; and, since the invention of gunpowder, when it is necessary

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( 152 )

cessary to march against the enemy, courage and skill are of more utility than strength; a respectable author has said, and with great justice, that war is scarcely any thing more than the result of a chemical operation (1).

It may, perhaps, appear surprising, that I should suppose the Jews to be possessed of the seeds of valour. Caron considers them as mean slaves, among whom we can scarcely find a Spartacus; but this nation, so warlike under the princes of Ammon; who in the sixth century defended Naples against the enterprize of Belisarius (2); who in the tenth assisted the Christians to expel those plunderers who were ravaging Bohemia (3); who in 1346, fortified themselves in Burgos, and held out against Henry de Transtaman, after he had murdered the lawful sovereign; who are said to have supplied Portugal with an able General, and England with a Commodore (4); who in the last century distinguished themselves in the defence of Prague and Buda, when they were besieged (5); and who made a conspicuous figure at the attack of Port-Mahon, undoubtedly might distinguish themselves under our hands, and render themselves worthy of fighting under the banners of France.

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( 153 )

If we wish to receive the Jews into our regiments, or incorporate them among our militia, it will be necessary to disperse them throughout the different military corps; for the more their relation to us is multiplied, so much the easier it will be to reform them. The possibility of raising a legion entirely composed of Jews, may be readily conceived; but so many reasons oppose the formation of such a body, that we dare not mention them, lest we should offer an insult to the penetration of our readers. A vigilant and firm police would shelter the Jews, thus distributed into our regiments, from every insult. When French soldiers receive the commands of their officers, subordination and honor are two powerful springs of action always easy to be moved.

The observance of certain Rabbinical usages would at first establish some difference between the Jewish and Christian soldiers: for instance, the former would not eat milk and flesh at the same repast; but imperious necessity, example, and harmless ridicule, levelled against their prejudices and not their persons, would soon banish these follies. He, who before would have considered it as a crime to employ at table the knife of a Christian, will soon use the



( 154 )

the same food as the Christian, now become his intimate friend and companion. The Jews of the Levant, and those of Germany, for the most part never drink wine made by Christians, while they do not hesitate to drink beer and cyder that have been prepared by our hands. Let us not believe, that they would even long refuse to work on the sabbath-day: in the Talmud and Maimonides, we find two passages that formally permit them (6). The Jewish journalists of Berlin have lately calmed the consciences of their brethren, who have been enrolled by the Emperor, on that head. Besides, the example of Joshua and the Maccabees would teach them, that on such a day they might not only defend their habitations, but even attack those of an enemy; and it is well known, that during the siege of Jerusalem, they laboured upon that day as they would have done upon any other. Being admitted into the Roman troops, for four centuries they continued there on the same footing, till the Emperor Honorius thought proper to declare incapable of military service (7), a nation who had shone in the armies of Alexander and of the Ptolemys—a nation, who, when conquered by Pompey, secured the esteem

( 155 )

of the conqueror; who, in the war against Mithridates, caused victory to declare itself in favor of Cæsar; and who, for four centuries, made a distinguished figure under the banners of the Roman legions.

Before I conclude this chapter, the object of which is intimately connected with that of the two preceding, I must observe, that the Quakers, and the wandering Bohemians, have a moral constitution very different from that of other nations. It has not, however, been thought impossible to unite them with the body politic, and the attempts made for that purpose have been crowned with success. Some provinces of Poland and Russia present a fantastical mixture of different religions:—near a Protestant, who eats his pullet on a Friday, lives a Catholic, who confines himself to eggs; both drink wine, and labor on that Friday by the side of a Turk, who, circumcised like the Jew, abstains from wine as well as from labour; and these varieties do not disturb the peace of society.

I shall terminate this chapter by the following simple and decisive reasoning. In the four or five first centuries of the Christian æra, the Jews, who were then dispersed, had the same

( 156 )

same law as at present, and the same prejudices; for the Talmuds were then in existence: they then exercised all the arts and trades, and discharged every civil function; dispersed throughout all nations, they went different ways to perform their devotions in different temples; and, on their leaving these, they all in concert embarked in the same vessels to plough the ocean; marched to battle under the same standards, and moistened the same fields with the sweat of their brows. We have here, then, certain data or principles, to enable us to judge whether the Jews can be incorporated into the general mass of society. When experience speaks, all these objections must be silent.

C H A P.

( 157 )

C H A P T E R X I X.

*The proposed Reformation is agreeable to the Views of Christianity; on the contrary, it may be reconciled with the political and civil Laws of Nations, and with their Interests.*

I F it be clearly proved, that the religious and political laws of the Jews, as well as their manners and prejudices, are compatible with the proposed reformation, the parallel proposition is established also; for the difficulty was to know whether their present situation would admit of changes, founded upon the religious and political laws of the Christians. But in a matter of this importance, can one complain of an accumulation of arguments, which silence every objection that can be made?

It cannot be denied, that both religious and national hatred begin to disappear. Those ages in which people thought it a meritorious action to compel the Jews to abjure their religion, are now very remote from us. What differ-



( 158 )

difference between the reign of Louis XVI. and that of Dagobert I. and of Leo the Isaurian, who gave them the choice between baptism and death (1).—A cruel edict! that deprived men of their liberty in an article which politics have no right to touch. Gregory IX. more prudent and more humane, forbade, under pain of excommunication, any restraint to be laid upon their consciences, or that any one should disturb their festivals, or violate those spots where they deposited their dead, &c. (2); and our tribunals have checked that intemperate zeal which carried away Jewish children, in order to educate them in the principles of the Christian religion. The Pontiffs themselves forbade the rights of paternity to be thus violated; and the constitution of Clement XIII. in 1764, was only a revival of that of Julius III. published two hundred and thirty years before. Even yet, however, our language has but few words which affect the minds of men with so different sensations as *toleration* and its compound; in turns they have become the general cry of impiety, which wished to adopt them without separating them from their errors; and of sanguinary zeal, which was desirous of pro-

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( 159 )

scribing even persons. Christianity points out the true medium that preserves the rights of the Creator, without offending against those of his creatures, and which opens its bosom to mistaken brethren, without ever opening it to error.

I shall now assert a fact, which though it may appear to have a paradoxical air, is no less agreeable to truth, as may be easily proved. This fact is, that the clergy, so often accused of want of toleration, are the body who practise most the contrary virtue; if by toleration we mean that rational light which inculcates invincible adherence to revealed truths, and that uniform indulgence which wishes all Christians to unite firmly together, in order to promote the general happiness of mankind. One of the most striking emblems of our divine Legislator is, the figure of a lamb; one of his admirable maxims is the following—*Learn of me, who am meek and lowly of heart*; and these words of the gospel, *constrain them to enter*, only point out the pressing exhortations and fervent prayers of charity. The Saviour had no intention of giving to his religion a character of violence, which would have rendered it odious; he condemned those

disciples,

( 160 )

disciples, whose intemperate zeal wished to call down the fire of heaven upon a city which had not received them. *Charity* is the general cry of the gospel; and when I see Christians become persecutors, I am tempted to believe that they have not read the scriptures. Tear these sacred writings to pieces, or follow the morality which they inculcate (3).

We too often find iron-hearted men, who pervert and profane the word *mercy*; they are generous enough to extend their pity to people who existed two thousand years ago, and their benevolence to nations situated at the distance of six thousand miles from them; their hearts are melted when they hear of the sufferings of the Helots and the Negroes; while those unhappy wretches, whom they have daily in their eye, are scarcely thought worthy of the smallest degree of compassion. Yet behold at our door the offspring of that ancient people, distressed brethren, at the sight of whom one cannot help feeling the greatest pain; and who, for fifteen centuries, have never seen a single ray of happiness shine upon them. Around them they have found nothing but insults and torture; in their hearts only sorrow, and in their eyes only tears. If  
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( 161 )

they are not virtuous enough to deserve kind treatment, they are unfortunate enough to receive it; and even though ingratitude should wound the hand of benevolence, good actions will always carry their reward along with them. Whilst they are slaves to your prejudices, and victims to your hatred, boast not of your sensibility. In their present degraded state, they are more deserving of pity than of blame; and such is their deplorable condition, that those who are not affected by it, must have forgot that they are men, or have entirely divested themselves of humanity.

Children of the gospel, the religion which you profess, embraces in the bonds of love all men, not only in every country, but in every age. Is it the fault of that doctrine, if you neglect your duty towards posterity? It wishes that, anxious for the fate of future generations, you should prepare happiness for those who still sleep in non-entity, and who will not be called into existence till you are mouldering into dust. It is not yet long since you first drew breath, and soon you must be companions for the worms. Will you leave nothing but your carcases to those who succeed you?

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( 162 )

May they learn, by your example, in what manner you have acted towards the Jews, and what they must do also. Since life is so long for evil, and so short for good, make haste to discharge that debt, else ye will die insolvent. Let us here apply the inscription engraved on the monument of London—*posteris, posteris, vestra res agitur*. Posterity, your dearest rights are here concerned. You expect from us virtuous citizens; and shall we leave you a race of men whom we have forced to become wicked? This would be spreading fatal seeds, which would spring up in your bosoms, and be transmitting corruption, perhaps, to the most remote ages. For a moment, let us anticipate on futurity to appear at the tribunal of our descendants, and to receive the effusions of their gratitude or their maledictions.

Some people may be apprehensive, that our plan is contrary to the prophets, who devote the Jews to opprobrium; but these fears may be allayed by the following considerations. The oracles which announced the destruction of Jerusalem, point out the distant moment at which the consequences of it are to be terminated; and even if we should ease the chains

( 163 )

chains of these people before that epoch, they would still be without an altar and without a sceptre. Without an altar—for by allowing them liberty of conscience, we do not restore to them the temple of Jerusalem; and without a sceptre—for it may be easily perceived, that we shall never see the Jews adorned with the diadem; and though we grant them a land of Goshen, we will undoubtedly not choose our Pharaohs from among them.

Let us not, then, attempt to make religion an accomplice in a severity which it condemns; in predicting the misfortunes of the Jews, the Eternal did not mean to authorise the barbarities of others; and if, in quality of the instruments of his vengeance to accomplish the prophecies, we pretend to be innocent, we may soon attempt to vindicate the treachery of Judas. Like Julian, we have not formed the sacrilegious project of giving the lie to the Deity; and if the hour is not yet come, to bring back the Jews to the fold, it may, as Gamaliel said, watch for the accomplishment of his decrees; but our fruitless attempts, justified by their motive, will still obtain the approbation of Heaven. Besides, the Deity directs every event in a manner agreeable to his su-

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( 164 )

preme views; and, perhaps, he reserves for us the glory of realizing his designs, in preparing, by our humanity, that revolution by which these people are to be reformed. That happy day will come, and its dawn, perhaps, now begins to appear. It has been proved, that the desire of religion is to soften the lot of the Jewish nation; and if some canonical decisions seem contrary to this plan, we ought to remember, that these decrees were never sanctioned by the whole church; that besides, as they related to certain circumstances, or were dictated by prejudice, they should be abrogated when these circumstances change, and when prejudice is dispelled.

Nothing is more strongly inculcated in the bible, than obedience to the higher powers. The latter, in their turn, as their authority does not extend beyond the present life, ought to respect the religious principles of men, unless they be of such a nature as to create disturbance in the state. It has been said, before my time, that submission is indeed a voluntary act; that human power cannot affect the mind; and in the body nothing can be produced but pain. The decree of *Jesumi* in Japan, and the oath of *supremacy* and the *test*

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( 165 )

a7 in England, are violations of the imprescriptible rights of mankind. By this discussion, we do not wander from our subject; it establishes that the reformation of the Jewish people is an obligatory act; a debt due by sovereigns and justice, (however this assertion may offend false policy,) and was always consistent with their interests. It is an immutable and eternal law, that what is useful originally springs from what is just.

Complete religious liberty granted to the Jews, will be a grand step towards their reformation; and, I will venture to affirm, towards their conversion; for truth is never persuasive, but when it appears in the garb of mildness—Truth, they say, sometimes wounds the bosom from which it sprung. I have here advanced a series of truths, of which I will always be the apostle, and to which, if necessary, I would cheerfully become a martyr. But the Protestants, it may be said, will claim the like privileges. I have laid down principles, and though I deduce the same consequences in favor of the Protestants, I wish that the faithful Catholic and the loyal subject may be distinguished in the humble writer, who here offers his thoughts with timid cir-

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( 166 )

cumspedition, and who never had the haughty presumption to pretend to dictate laws to the supreme authority.

Our penal laws are far from opposing a project, the adoption of which would simplify their operations; for the pecuniary edicts then including every citizen in the same form of proportional contribution, the art of finance will render its path more general, as it will then become much easier, by the suppression of embarrassing modifications.

Some may alarm us, perhaps, on account of the excessive multiplication of the Jews; for, according to Michaelis, when the gates of the temple of liberty are opened to them, they will flock thither from all parts, and inundate the country. If all the different states, or at least a certain number of them, grant them this favor, their influx will be less, or there will be none at all, and then this objection falls to the ground; but even supposing that one only adopts the proposed reformation, it may be easily answered: Do not receive strangers, and confine yourself to the reformation of those only who reside in the kingdom; and even if you admit others, you may banish your idle fears, for the rich will bring  
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( 167 )

with them their fortunes, and the poor their abilities and their hands.

Perhaps, also, it may be feared, that the Jews will abuse this indulgence, and that the serpent will one day wound the bosom of him who cherished it. They are reproached, indeed, with fomenting several seditions in the early ages of Christianity; this was the melancholy consequence of the severity exercised against them; but let us forget crimes which remind us of our own. People never rebel but to extricate themselves from misery; when they are permitted to enjoy in peace the fruits of their labour, and when their errors are attacked only with the arms of persuasion, they are not turbulent. The state has no occasion to be apprehensive of convulsions; and our peaceful Israelites, having no longer a taste for proselytism, or the violent spirit of sectaries, it will always be easy to keep them in a state of dependence.

Let something be pointed out in the moral constitution of the Jews, contrary to any form of government whatever: the choice of the means to be used in order to reform these people, is the only thing that embarrasses sovereigns, for all ardently wish for so desirable an

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( 168 )

event. Too long have they deprived themselves of the industry of these people, which, if well directed, might have promoted the cause of public prosperity. The sensible citizen has long exclaimed against this conduct; why should the house of my Jewish neighbour present me with the view of a proscribed individual? shew me in his person an useful being, who, sharing with me in the burdens and advantages of a citizen, may ease my load, and enjoy a share in my affection.

CHAP.

( 169 )

CHAPTER XX.

*What Effects the Laws lately made in Favor of the Jews by neighboring Nations have produced; and what may be inferred from them. What Influence a Reformation of the Jews will have over National Commerce; and the Question examined, whether this Reformation will change what is most commendable in their Moral Constitution.*

IN 1753, the Jews, by an act of parliament passed in England, were granted the rights of men and of citizens. In Naples, thirteen years before, an act which issued from the throne, secured to them the same advantages. Their joy, however, was not of long duration; in the former country, the corruption of the British minister, according to some, and the brutal opposition of the people, according to others, and in Naples superstition, or rather as I have said, the licentiousness of the Jews, caused laws so honorable to those who framed them, and so consoling to the Hebrew people, to be revoked.

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( 170 )

It appears, however, that the present governments wish to expiate the wrongs of former ages. Some years ago, Spain abolished the distinctions of new and old Christians; but without permitting a few Jews concealed in its bosom to tear the veil of hypocrisy, which they had wrapped round them. In France, by letters patent registered at Colmar in 1784, divers privileges were granted to the Jews, and they were exempted from corporal toll, which put them on a level with the most contemptible animals. It is well known, that still more was done in their favor by the late Emperor.

In order to know what effects have resulted from these measures, I consulted the public papers, different travellers, several correspondents, and my own eyes. The result is, that in the empire, as in Alsace, the best effects have thence arisen, but that the progress of them is not sufficiently clear. The Jew possessing much indifference, and regardless of the public opinion, is always engaged in low speculations, because his genius has not been directed in an efficacious manner towards other objects of commerce. To reform the Jews, we must not believe that it will be sufficient

( 171 )

cient to naturalize them; the Portuguese Jews, who have in France enjoyed that happiness since the reign of Henry II. are generally more sensible, and possess more delicacy of sentiment than the rest of their nation.— Though loaded with calumny under Henry III. they were afterwards completely vindicated, yet they have not yet adopted the spirit of the French, and the work of their change is still to be begun.

Education and legislation never attain to their end, but by proceeding in a progressive path regulated according to circumstances and necessity. This end is often missed, because the methods and rules adopted are not suited to national genius; or because national genius has not been prepared for receiving them; and if a humble citizen were allowed to give his opinion on the actions of a sovereign, I would say, that it was an essential fault in the Imperial edict to pass over all the intermediate ones. The result thence was, that in Galicia and Lodomeria, it was found necessary to deprive the Jews of several privileges, and to restrain others (1); it was requisite previously to dispose their minds, in order to direct their hearts; to disperse books  
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( 172 )

and to diffuse preparatory ideas; to make the Christians and the Rabbis concur towards this grand work; to give a different tendency to the genius of the Hebrews; to inflame them with a desire for liberty, that its value might be enhanced; to grant one favor to induce them to hope for and endeavor to deserve another; to convince them that the way to riches is the path of honor; to incorporate them into the national mass, so as to make them citizens in the full extent of the word; in short, to sketch out a plan, which comprehending every detail, might employ every mean, and this method, much slower, would have accelerated the consummation of the work, and the accomplishment of the wishes of Joseph II.

A great advantage is, to be able to apply the same plan of reformation to the whole nation; for, as we have already observed, their character is uniform; but whatever may be the means proper for accomplishing that end, they will never produce the desired effect, unless this plan, well drawn up, and brought to maturity, be executed with firmness and caution. If people confine themselves to a few vague regulations, we shall soon see their  
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( 173 )

ill combined efforts miscarry; and vanity, interested in proving the falsity of these means, will refer their want of success to the pretended impossibility of reforming the Jewish people. The eye of the sovereign ought to watch over this object, or at least, those who are entrusted with the execution of his orders, ought to be men, and not leeches, who wish to exhaust the substance of our unfortunate Jews, and make them pay dearly for the indulgence of government.

It may be asked, what influence will the reformation of these people have upon the national commerce. It will have none, or scarcely any, since prudence requires that the genius of the Jews should be directed towards other objects than commerce. The case, however, will not be the same with regard to arts and trades; when the Jew, freed from his fetters, is put upon the same footing as the Christian, the public will reap the fruits of a rivalry, which will improve the arts, promote industry, abolish monopolies, and preserve goods of every kind at a low price.

By encouraging the Jews, they will insensibly adopt our manner of thinking and acting, our laws, our customs, and our manners.



( 174 )

ners. But will they be gainers by adopting our manners? This question I have always dreaded.

Let us suppose, that there is a country, where, except a small number of sages, the greater part of the nation profess a religion which they never examined; while the other reason falsely, in order that they may have none; where, what is called honor, is only a splendid phantom substituted for virtue; where, eager to secure public esteem, people shew very little anxiety for being in reality what they wish to appear; where, imperious frivolity refuses to merit that respect which is lavished upon the whims of fashion and false wit; where, the greater number, incapable of cultivating great virtues, and even of committing great crimes, indulge passions that exhibit every mark of baseness.—I ask whether such manners would be a proper model to hold up to others for imitation? And if this be a picture of our manners, is it not to be apprehended, that the Jews, after having been the instruments of our luxury, and witnesses to our depravation, will soon become victims to them also? Whatever advantages they may promise to themselves by becoming

( 175 )

becoming citizens, were it certain that they would lose in point of morality, we ought, without any hesitation, to suffer them to vegetate under their load of opprobrium. This is the objection in all its force, but to these fears we may oppose considerations that ought to allay them.

We may say, that the Jews, being children of the state, have a right to be treated as such; that the inconveniences of which we have spoken, not being necessarily connected with their reformation, their right remains irrefragable; and that, besides, a debtor is obliged to satisfy his creditor, even though he may foresee that he will make a bad use of his money. The Jews may support these arguments, upon which we shall not here enlarge; but perhaps, their debt will be disputed, from a dread that they will claim arrears also.

We must, however, remark, that the good to be hoped for from the reformation of the Jews is certain, and the evil to be apprehended is very doubtful; a relaxation of morals could not be easily introduced among a nation, who would never consider themselves but as tolerated, notwithstanding the extension of their privileges. Besides, they

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( 176 )

are subjected by their religion to a number of observances, very incompatible with the elegant taste of our depraved societies, and which, keeping them always at a certain distance from luxury, would save them from its infection, or weaken its influence. Tinctured by a more salutary education, with a severer morality, and affected with a sense of our continued favors, they would learn to love enemies, too generous to be hated; so that they would acquire sociability, sentiments and virtues, without losing their ancient simplicity of manners. If we must call in experience to support our reasoning, we shall again quote the Jews of Berlin, the Hague, and Bourdeaux, who have been brought much nearer to the condition of citizens than any others. To moral propositions, we cannot assign the same degree of certainty as to theorems; but when we are under the necessity of choosing between two sides, which present advantages and inconveniences, we ought to compare and weigh them thoroughly, and to observe to what side the balance inclines—here it evidently inclines in favor of a reformation; and, as experience removes every doubt, the possibility of accomplishing it seems fully established.

( 177 )

established. Let us, therefore, make the Jews citizens—reformed both in their moral and physical character, they will acquire a sounder and more robust temperament, as well as more knowledge, and more probity, while their hearts directed to virtue, and their hands enured to labor, will be of the highest advantage to general society.

They themselves will attain to the highest degree of happiness which can be enjoyed in this world, or we are not at home; for virtue and happiness are synonymous; and should any one affect to doubt this assertion, I shall not waste my time in proving it. By this revolution we shall procure friends, and the state will gain an increase of industry and riches. Every thing I have advanced serves as premises to this conclusion.

N CHAP.



( 178 )

CHAPTER XXI.

*Considerations on the Commerce of the Jews, and the Bounds which ought to be set to it.*

**B**ARON Bielfield assures us, that a commercial state cannot dispense with the Jews altogether (1). But why could it not? Tyre and Carthage flourished without them. Geneva, Bremen, Augsburg, and Nuremberg, have none of them; and the latter city never even suffers them to remain for a few moments within its walls, but when attended by a guard, which renders the government perfectly secure respecting their conduct. At Augsburg they pay a florin per hour, and at Bremen a ducat per day. This plain reasoning destroys at the same time the assertion of the author of the *Speclator*, who considers them as pegs and nails, absolutely necessary to connect the different parts of a large edifice (2). Are their mercantile functions of such a nature, that they cannot be exercised by other hands? Must we absolutely apply to the synagogue to get rid of the refuse of our shops, to dis-

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( 179 )

pose of our old clothes, and to procure a supply of horses for our cavalry?

It has been sometimes asked, whether it would be expedient to exclude them from commerce altogether. This would be as unjust as to assassinate these poor people; for being suddenly deprived of the only means which remain to them of procuring bread, for want of trade, they could not support themselves but by robbery and theft.

Must we unite them also with the mercantile body? This question, which, in several tribunals, has occasioned very warm debates, might have been easily decided, had reason and humanity alone been consulted. The latter would have invoked pity in their favor, and the other would have apologised for them. It might have alledged their obedience to the higher powers, their resignation when under misfortunes, and their activity in every thing that concerns what is called retail trade (3). With as great a share of patience, sobriety, and economy, as the Armenian merchants, they have more sagacity to watch for and embrace every favorable opportunity.

In every country there are certain branches of trade, and some manufactures entirely neglected,

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( 180 )

lected, or in a languishing condition, and the deficiencies occasioned by national indolence, are supplied by imports from foreign nations. These are true gold-mines, which the Jew, industrious wherever there is a prospect of gain, might easily open; and by doing so, if he were in the least encouraged by the ministry, he would furnish employment for a number of hands, and afford them a sure means of subsisting; he would soon cause the price of imported goods to be lowered, and prevent the specie of the nation from passing into foreign countries. But, perhaps, when his manufactures had acquired a decided superiority, he might wish to tyrannise over the purchaser, by regulating the price of them according to the dictates of his own avarice (4). Perhaps some also, under the appearance of a coasting trade, and of dispersing their goods, might give themselves up to smuggling. In these two cases, it would be necessary to restrain them, by revising the too severe laws which punish monopolies and other illicit practices.

As long as the Jews can subsist by commerce and usury they will do it; but let us not forget, that it is of the utmost importance to divert them from that path, and to turn their

( 181 )

their views to other objects, in order to extinguish or weaken in them the spirit of usury; and, if to bring about a revolution, it be thought necessary to interdict them from it, we must from the date of the edict published, leave an interval of some years, to prepare them for that reformation; but then it will appear as just as proper, not to subject to it those who are married, or who being bachelors, are twenty years of age; for the Jew who has entered into the marriage state, or is arrived at that period, has probably formed his plan of occupation for life; he has taken his bent, and to endeavor to make him submit to such a prohibition, would be to torture his disposition to no purpose, and would, perhaps, destroy the edifice of his fortune.

The edict which we have proposed, will not be attended with any of these inconveniences. It leaves the Jews at liberty to carry on trade, by selling for ready money only; it does not expose them to the risque of being cheated of their due, because, having no power over anterior transactions, it leaves in full force all securities made prior to its promulgation, and by publishing it, the moment of its beginning to be in vigor will be retarded

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( 182 )

some years. The Jew, who in a futurity not far distant, beholds fetters prepared to confine his commerce, will secure other means of making a fortune, though he is said to be averse to manual labor; and his son as he approaches manhood, will seek for a certain subsistence in the exercise of some trade.

It is here proper to observe, that in the beginning of this revolution, it will be prudent to interdict the Jews from following occupations of a certain kind; such as that of keeping taverns, a thing very common in Poland. This situation would enable them to practise dangerous deceptions, and to adulterate liquors and provisions, and it would leave them too much power to impose on their customers, consequently it would hold forth a temptation to villainy, and expose travellers to unjust exactions, as well as endanger their health. Let us exclude them also from being tax-gatherers, custom-house officers, cashiers, attorneys, and from every employment which would give them too many opportunities of being guilty of extortion, of smuggling, and of receiving bribes; for we must never lose sight of the character of the people whom we wish to reform.

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( 183 )

CHAPTER XXII.

*It is very impolitic to assign separate Quarters for the Jews, as they ought to be dispersed among the Christians.*

**I**N the first ages of their dispersion, the Jews several times attempted to establish themselves into a national body; desperate adventurers often declared themselves their deliverers, and thousands of people flocked to the standard of revolt. By endeavouring to shake off their chains, they, however, always rendered them more galling: their efforts tended only to cover them with confusion, and to bring new misfortunes upon them: Three men among the Christians are said to have formed each by himself a plan, or at least a desire, to collect the Jews into some corners of the globe. In the last century, La Peyrera (1); and in ours, the Duke de Ripperda, who died at Tetuan in 1737; and the Marquis de Langallerie, who died in prison at Vienna twenty years before. The isles of the Archipelago were, as is said, the asylum which the latter destined for the Hebrew people;

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( 184 )

ple; but these projects, worthy of their authors, perished along with them. But even supposing that their attempts to unite these people had been efficacious, would they have had it in their power to form a well organized government? By no means.—They could only have assembled enthusiasts, whose fanaticism would have daily ruled with full sway; because, intoxicated with a momentary prosperity, they would have sincerely believed that the Messiah was about to appear, in order to give them the empire of the whole world, and to reign over all Israel. To unite the Jews, with a view of freeing them from their prejudices, would be like throwing sulphur into a fire to weaken its activity. On the contrary, it will be necessary to separate them, and to destroy, as much as possible, all communication between them.

It would appear, that it has been thought possible to limit their population, by limiting the extent of their habitations; for separate quarters have almost always been assigned them; and to mention only my own province, I can say, that such is the tendency of the public arret of Leopold, passed in 1726. This universal plan admits of very few exceptions; and

( 185 )

and some cities of Italy have even preserved the custom of shutting them up every evening in the *Ghetto* \*; and I do not know whether the following inscription is not still to be seen upon one of the gates of the *Ghetto* of Padua. *Ne populo cælestis regni heredi usus cum exherede esset †.*

Pochmer will permit us to differ from him in opinion, when he approves and recommends this custom, under pretence that mixing the Jews with us tends to heighten our aversion to them (2). We may easily dispute with him the justness of this remark; for it appears, on the contrary, that by separating the Jews, we increase the hatred of the Christians, by presenting the object of it in a clearer point of view. We ought to consider, besides, that religion, becoming every day better known, supports the rights of humanity, by working upon mens' hearts; and that the Christians of the present age are not those of the twelfth century. We have mentioned the treatment which the Jews experienced at Thoulouse and

\* The separate streets assigned them are thus named.—T.

† That the people, heirs to the kingdom of heaven, may have no communication with those who are disinherited.—T.

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( 186 )

Beziers; but at present, if an inhabitant of these cities, forgetting the precepts of the gospel, should insult or injure a Jew, his crime, equally base as cruel, would be punished with the utmost severity.

To the inconveniences which Pochmer thought likely to arise from mixing the Jews with us, we oppose the more certain dangers that result from their residing in separate quarters. In these dismal abodes, there is a continual fermentation of putrid air, calculated to diffuse and even to occasion epidemical distempers (3). There the Jews are a distinct people; and there their misery and their prejudices are concentrated. These prejudices take deeper root, because they are nourished by example and enthusiasm; for enthusiasm and example act in proportion as individuals approach one another; and the Jew, above all, is easily subjected by these two means: his ignorance and his principles dispose him for being readily corrupted. When legislators wish to reclaim people who have erred, by the influence of these two means, they will find the accomplishment of their purpose much easier by taking them in detail, than when they labor upon a number united.

Almost

( 187 )

Almost all the Jews wish for a facility of dispersing themselves, because it gives more extent to their liberty, and to their means of acquiring riches; but I hold it as a certain fact, that the most sensible among them wish for it on another account. It may be readily conceived, that having a more enlightened knowledge, and more exquisite sensations than the populace, slaves to prejudice, and the confined ideas of low traffic, they grow tired of a neighbourhood where they find it difficult to escape from the litigiousness of fanatical folly. Will it be believed, for example, that the synagogue at Metz accused, and endeavoured to bring an action against some young Jews, who were guilty of the abominable crime of wishing to be clean? They powdered their hair. In consequence of this accusation, a celebrated lawyer at Metz (4) was consulted by the defendants; and it is much to be regretted, that his memorial never appeared, as it would have amused the public, and exposed the synagogue to general ridicule.

The inference to be drawn from this chapter is then, that the Jews must not only have liberty to establish themselves without distinction in every corner of those cities where they reside;

( 188 )

reside; but that the number of them permitted to inhabit every street must be limited, according to the extent of each town or village. When this number is completed, the rest must be obliged to remove somewhere else; and neither lords nor municipalities must refuse them admittance, upon paying the fees of entry, previously settled, and exhibiting sufficient proof of the impossibility of remaining in the place from which they came. In villages none must be received, but such as are artists or tradesmen, farmers or proprietors; for, without this precaution, the Israelite of the village would soon become an usurer—the extortioner, and the vulture of the canton.

By giving the Jew a permanent relation with other citizens, we shall soon find that his sensibility will attach him to those who surround him, and his ties with us being multiplied, will give us more hold to beat down his prejudices.

C H A P.

( 189 )

CHAPTER XXIII.

*Whether the Jews ought to be suffered to live according to their own Laws, or to be deprived of that Privilege.*

THE reader, I presume, will dispense with my repeating what I have said and proved, respecting the necessity of granting the Jews liberty of conscience, with all the privileges that proceed directly from it. The ministry must be vigilant, in order to secure to each the enjoyment of natural rights in what concerns salvation: agreeably to the constitutions of the Popes, the children of the Jews must not be baptized until they have attained to the use of reason, without the consent of those who are the authors of their existence. From this regulation we except illegitimate children, conveyed to hospitals. If, when a child is capable of making a choice, it embraces the Catholic religion, it must be suffered to remain under paternal authority, unless in cases where cruelty towards it is proved or strongly presumed. This presumption, well established, will be sufficient to make him become



( 190 )

become a ward of government. It may be readily conceived, that by threats or bad treatment fanatical fathers might chain up the inclinations of their children, who leaned towards Christianity; and that they might be tempted to disinherit those who were converted. Care then must be taken, that the latter may find protection under the wings of justice, and that the benevolence of their country may have a watchful eye over their lives and their possessions.

The Council of Basle ordered, that skilful professors might be chosen for the purpose of converting the Jews. A politician of the sixteenth century wished, that in order to promote this conversion, they might be received as citizens of Paris, and obliged once a week to assist at the Sorbonne (1), where their errors were attacked. In the same century, in 1584, Gregory XIII. commanded weekly instruction to be given to the Jews. Different sovereigns have enacted the same thing; and this custom of preaching to them, which ceased in Hesse, the principality of Colomberg, and in Metz, is still continued in Italy. It is well known with what success Father Marin preached upon

( 191 )

upon controverted points to the Jews of Avignon.

To oblige the Jews to receive instruction, is not obliging them to abjure their religion; and I am inclined to believe, that to compel them to hear some discourses is not contrary to the rights of humanity; else prove to me, that the state cannot force its subjects to acquire knowledge. Government, perhaps, might with success employ the same means to instil into their hearts and minds rational principles respecting every duty of a citizen; but in that case let nothing announce severity or constraint.—We wish only for conferences, as amicable as those of Limborch and Orobio.

We now come to the question—Whether the Jews must be suffered to retain their own laws and usages—a question often agitated and debated, the last time with much violence, in the affair of the Jew Peixotto, who wished to repudiate his wife (2). If they are permitted to be Jews, said the defender of the wife, they must be permitted also to live according to the Jewish laws. After contracting marriages in the manner prescribed by the Mosaic rites, can they not dissolve them by virtue of the same rites? And if they are prohibited

( 192 )

hibited from divorce, they ought to be prohibited also from every part of the Jewish religion. This inference is very false; and Mr. Target, the council for the husband, replied, if the Jews are permitted to live according to their own laws, they must be permitted likewise to have a plurality of wives; to stone those who commit adultery, &c. This answer appeared decisive; Peixotto lost, and the marriage was confirmed. In Hesse, the Rabbis have been forbid to intermeddle in divorces, though there, generally, as well as elsewhere, they are supposed to have the power of judging in matrimonial cases. Divorces, and marrying the wife of a brother, are not contrary to the law of nature, or the law of Moses; but as these causes are of such a kind as to have very little influence over our plan, we shall only say, *Non nostrum tantas componere lites*. Let us, however, prohibit the Jews from marriages forbidden by our laws, as the crossing of the breed is among the number of the means requisite to reform a people, whose physical constitution has degenerated.

During the four first centuries, the Jews in several countries were permitted to live under their own laws, especially by favour of the

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( 193 )

Roman policy, which endeavoured to attach conquered nations and towns to the empire, by leaving them the free use of their own laws and customs. The Pandects praise the rescripts of Severus and Antoninus, who admitted the Hebrews to public employments. At Antioch, their principal magistrate bore the title of Archon; in Egypt they had Ethnacs; their senate at Alexandria, composed of forty-eight members, had, as its President, an Alabarch, who was also a Jew; and we find those of Berenice in Africa, composing, with other citizens, a regular magistracy, and passing public decrees (3).

At present, in some countries, they have a right to judge in the first instance respecting any disputes that may arise amongst them. At Bourdeaux, Metz, &c. they have syndics and assemblies of elders, who regulate their internal government, and whose statutes are sanctioned by public authority. They are permitted to retain the greater part of their usages, because it has been observed that their religion extends to every branch of legislation, and even to the smallest details of the police. Their Sanhedrim judges both in civil and ecclesiastical causes.

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( 194 )

But let us distinguish in the Mosaical law, what essentially belongs to the exercise of its worship, from what is only the object of civil and criminal jurisprudence.—These are separate things. Let us grant to the Jews complete liberty in the first article, and in every thing that does not affect the property, liberty and honor of the citizen:—in every thing else let them be subject to the laws of the nation. Let us leave, then, to the Rabbis, the right of passing sentence in affairs which merely concern religious rites, without having connection with government. By an arret of the Parliament of Metz, passed in 1749, they were forbid to pronounce sentence of excommunication, and the other Jews to submit to it.—If this right, however, be left them, confined to objects merely of a religious nature, it must have no relation with those of political society, and must never brand a citizen with infamy, as the synagogue of Amsterdam branded Uriel Acofta. To obviate inconveniences, there must always be an appeal to our tribunals.

It is very improper to permit the Rabbis in Alsace, and some of the States of Germany, to exercise the office of notary, and to judge concerning pecuniary causes and legacies. I  
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( 195 )

would not have them interdicted from the peaceful mode of arbitration; but in affairs that may concern the government, their judicatory power should be suppressed, and their causes referred to the usual tribunals: such is the law of Joseph II. It will doubtless not be pretended, that because our King Henry II. received the Portuguese Jews without restriction, and that his successors confirmed their privileges, the sovereign has not power to make regulations concerning their civil state, and that they cannot be citizens, and at the same time be freed from obedience to the laws, in virtue of which they enjoy the privileges of citizens. They themselves do not aspire at this exemption; and they follow new regulations without remorse, as we have already demonstrated.

The Jews must, therefore, be subjected to the jurisprudence of the respective nations in which they live; and there will be no necessity to form particular customs for them, as has been done at Metz. Their women, who do not inherit, but failing male-heirs, must be admitted to succession, in a manner more favourable to their sex: majority among the Jews, fixed at the same period as among us,

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( 196 )

will be attended with less inconvenience. Our tribunals will then no longer resound with causes between the Jews and the King's officers, respecting the establishment of guardians and the taking of inventories.

The vigilance of the police ought to destroy a general abuse amongst them, which is their precipitate interments.

Being subjected to the same taxation, and admitted to public offices, they will partake of the same advantages, because they will enjoy all the privileges of citizens. But by supposing that some may have become bound in vassalage to their lords, it must not be lawful for the latter to redeem these unfortunate people; to levy any money from them, or to admit them, and expel them according to their pleasure. Some feudatories in Alsace pretend, but in vain, to have this right by the nature of their fiefs, which are immediate, or held by possession immemorial. The sovereign authority cannot be limited by usages subversive of national happiness; and though they may be established by time, they are no less improper.

The plan which I have traced out includes the dissolution of Jewish communities; but will it be easy to overcome the following difficulty?

( 197 )

difficulty? Several of these corporations have property and debts. This property, therefore, must be disposed in such a manner, that the Jews may have their proportional share in the Christian communities, of which we suppose they have become members, and the surplus may be divided for their benefit. But how shall the debts be liquidated? Will it be by new imposts, while the Jews are scarcely able to pay those under which they at present groan, or by opening loans, which would only be remedying one evil by another?

First, The Jewish nation, poor in general, has, however, some individuals extremely opulent; and if their generosity were equal to their wealth, they might lend without interest to the Jewish communities, who by these means would immediately discharge the interest of their debts, and afterwards employ the money arising from the interest to pay the principal.

Secondly, The union of the Jews with the general mass of society, will suppress a number of presents given and received through politeness, or from fear offered to rapacity, which extorts from the unfortunate, by selling them a destructive credit at a dear rate (4); and

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( 198 )

which are a tribute paid by weakness and timidity to force and terror; by the same will be annihilated also pensions granted through gratitude, or other motives: such as that of twenty-thousand francs, which the Jews of Metz pay annually to the Brancas, which, as we are told, is a concession granted by the King to that family. This pension is to terminate with, or soon after, the present century, and it then devolves to an hospital. This gift, however, may be revoked; since it appears unjust to endow an asylum of misery at the expence of the unfortunate.

Thirdly, Failing these means, there remains only one. The reformation of the Jews is a matter of the highest importance to the nation in the bosom of which they live; the nation, therefore, must make some sacrifices, in order to accomplish that end. The Jews, being taxed in the same manner as the Christians, will be assessed in the same rolls; but a distinction must be made respecting the quota levied from them for the liquidation of their debts, by paying annually a part of the principal with the interest, and by this form of annuity, the whole will soon be discharged. I confess, that in the present state of our finances,

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( 199 )

I ought not to propose making sacrifices; but the debts of the Jews in France are a very trifling object, when compared with those of the nation, and Neckar is at the helm of government.

Let there be, therefore, no syndic for managing the affairs of these people, and no Jewish communities—let them be all members of ours. When they may be under the necessity of holding counsel, and voting on affairs indispensable in their religion, let a royal commissary preside over these assemblies, in which every thing ought to be debated in the language of the country, for the Jews must be compelled to study it, and to use it in their contracts, registers, accoupts, wills, calendars, &c. and in the exercise of their public worship, or at least all the books of their liturgy ought to be translated. The use of the vulgar tongue, in sacred rites, is not contrary to the principles of their religion; since, even at present, some synagogues perform their service in Spanish, though it is now three centuries since they were expelled from Spain.

That Tudesco-Hebraico-Rabbinical jargon which is used by the German Jews, which is intelligible only to them, and which tends

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( 200 )

greatly to increase their ignorance, or veil their deception, will doubtless one day be extirpated. No national language is universally spoken by the Jews in Europe, or in any other part of the globe with which I am acquainted. France, in its bosom, contains perhaps eight millions of subjects, some of whom can scarcely utter a few mangled words, or disjointed phrases of our language: others are entirely ignorant of it. It is well known, that in Low Brittany, and in many places beyond the Loire, the clergy are obliged to preach in a kind of local gibberish, as they would not be understood were they to speak French. Governments do not know, or are not sufficiently convinced, of how much importance the abolishing of gibberish is to the enlargement of science, to the knowledge of pure religion, to the ready executing of the laws, to national happiness, and to public tranquillity.

CHAP.

( 201 )

CHAPTER XXIV.

*On the Admission of the Jews to Civil Offices, to Nobility, and into Academies. Of their Education, and the Acquisition of Landed Property.*

WE have omitted every thing that might tend to elevate the minds of the Jews, and to give them more energy. It is proved by history, that in the four first centuries, and even in latter periods, they were admitted into all offices, both civil and military. The council assembled at Paris in 615, by Clotaire II. excluded them from public offices (1); but even this prohibition proves our assertion. Among the Mahometan princes they might aspire at, and sometimes attain to the most eminent posts in the ministry. At Morocco, above all, they are frequently seen to push themselves forward at court, and to discharge the duties of Ambassador; as an instance of this, we shall only quote the famous Pacheco, who died at the Hague in 1604 (2). Some time after, in the same century, two Jews were residents in Holland, from the courts of Portugal



( 202 )

Portugal and Spain, and some of them have been in great favor even at the court of Rome. In the twelfth century, we find a Rabbi Jehiel, superintendant of the house and finances of Pope Alexander III. But in general, we have interdicted the Jews from holding even the lowest civil offices.

If we wish, however, to bring about a thorough reformation among the Jews, let us not separate them from us by mortifying distinctions; let us bring them nearer to us and to our usages; let us hand them forward in every place which may call forth their virtues and their talents; and let us attach them to the state by the hope of public esteem, and by a right to hold every civil office in the different classes of society. A fundamental law of some country, excludes from offices those who are not of the established religion. But is this severe policy just? We do not propose to admit the Jews to be attorneys; the reason of this may be readily guessed; but in uniting them with the body of advocates, might we not dispense with their oath of catholicism, and subject their *factum* to censure? In governments, where the people have a share in the legislative authority, or at least,

( 203 )

least, in the executive, as in our provincial assemblies, might not a Jew, who is become a citizen, be admitted into them with justice, and make a conspicuous figure?

It would, however, be wrong, if by their disposition in society, they could have a direct influence over a religion to which they are born inveterate enemies. Such would be the right of conferring benefices—a right devolved to the Jew, Calmer, by the acquisition of the Barony of Pequigny, for we now find beings capable of accepting such nominations, perhaps, we should soon find some to purchase them, and the seller, not considering simony as a crime, according to the remark of Mr. Linguet, would think that he made a lawful bargain; perhaps he might think that he even did a service to his religion, by introducing a worthless character into ours. It will be objected, no doubt, that we see Catholics and Protestants have the right of presenting to benefices, in a religion of which they are not professors, and several Lords have a power of appointing Rabbis. The exclusion which we give to the Jews at present, is founded only upon their aversion to Christianity, and the depravation of their morals, which

( 204 )

which we may be allowed to mention, without prejudice to the flattering exceptions we have made with so much pleasure; and when there shall be no cause for making such an observation, transported with joy, we shall be the first to obliterate it.

Except the above, why should not the Jews obtain all those prerogatives which are supposed to be never granted but to merit? Why should the doors of academies and learned societies be shut against them, since the sciences and compliments have nothing to do with religion? But if a literary society, or a body of nobility, blush to receive the sons of Abraham amongst them, this weakness would make the latter not regret his being excluded, and the virtuous Israelite, contented with possessing true nobility, and with being a knight of the order of merit, would disdain a distinction founded only upon opinion (3).

There is still an article, upon which we shall touch but slightly, almost trembling, and confessing that the following observation can be applied only very seldom, and to a remote period. In the first ages of our æra, especially from the years 450 and 550, the connection between the Christians and the  
Jews

( 205 )

Jews was very intimate, and disparity of worship did not prevent them from uniting in marriage. Emperors and councils afterwards forbade these alliances, which, to the Catholic party, were sometimes the cause of seduction, and often even of apostacy.

Our divines confess, that the prohibition founded upon disparity of worship, was not introduced by a general statute, for we find none very precise, but by a custom, which, being universally adopted, has acquired the force of a law (4). It is still universally agreed, that the church may dispense with the observance of its disciplinary laws, without shaking its doctrine, and this so much the more, as the same regulation, extremely wise in certain circumstances, may become useless, and even hurtful in others. What good effects have resulted from the matrimonial union between St. Anastasia and Publius, the Pagan, St. Cecilia and Valerian, St. Monica and Patricius, St. Clotilda and Clovis, &c.?

Seduction can no longer take place. In permitting such alliances, it may be required, that the children produced from them should be educated in the Catholic religion, or at least, that the boys should be left at liberty to embrace



( 206 )

embrace that of the father, and the girls that of the mother; and this permission granted to the Jews of contracting marriages with the Christians, would form a new bond of union. They indeed cannot be multiplied too much.

We have no reason, however, to hope much from adults: as their disposition is formed, it will be difficult to change it; let us attack the evil at its root, and let us direct our efforts to the generation about to be born, and to that which is now advancing towards puberty. Let these youth partake of the education used in the different classes of society, either in public schools, or colleges and universities; but we here suppose, that the mode of public instruction has in many places, and in many things been amended; that among others, the schools of jurisprudence have experienced a complete reformation, and that enlightened teachers, loving their Christian and Jewish pupils without distinction, will establish among them that cordiality which arises from the extinction of hatred.

Religion to a wise man, is the principal object to which his attention is directed, as his fugitive existence here prepares him only for that future life which is eternal. Since, therefore,

( 207 )

fore, you have reformation in view, inspire rational notions respecting belief, and we shall no longer see issuing from our colleges so many puppies without a taste for virtue, without principles to love it, and without justness of thought. As soon as they are hurried into the vortex of society, affected witticisms, consummate arrogance, and impious and indecent ridicule decide for life concerning their manners and their faith. But let us never forget, that zeal without prudence is only a fire-brand, and if we speak of religion, and the catechism to Jewish pupils, we shall only encrease the hatred of the Hebrew people, strengthen their prejudices and suspicion, forewarn them to be upon their guard, and confirm them in their obstinacy; in short, we shall fail in every point of view: fathers will inspire children, who are susceptible of every impression, with prejudices against us. Their suspicion, therefore, must be overcome by our affability, and then these pupils, not being always deaf to reason, will collect, even without wishing it, sound ideas to counterbalance the absurdities with which they were amused, when in the bosoms of their mother. When they become sensible that it is their  
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( 208 )

interest to be instructed, emulation and study will call forth their talents, and public approbation will crown them by admitting them to degrees in law, physic, and the arts. (5). I do not here speak of theology, because it is neither agreeable to their taste, nor belongs to their province.

The importance of obliging those pupils who are destined to be at the head of synagogues to frequent our schools, cannot be too often inculcated. This truth must appear very striking to those who know what influence the Jewish doctors have over their hearers. Rabbis, the expence of maintaining whom is very great, may be dispensed with, as several Jewish communities have never had any, and as for two years that at Metz has not been replaced; but supposing them to be established, the civil authority must restrain the freedom of election. The Jewish policy never admits any but strangers, who have no alliances, and who have no connection with any subordinate individual. Without paying attention to this custom, ours must be natives graduated in our universities; a strict examination must be made into their knowledge and principles; preference must be given to those

( 209 )

those who are found best qualified in these respects, and their instruction in the synagogues must be directed towards political and moral good.

A consequence of the system which we have established is, to permit the Jews to acquire, buy, and exchange lands; for estates are never so well cultivated, as by the hands of the proprietor. When they are allowed to possess landed property, they may more easily be prevented from disinheriting such of their children as are converted; but in preserving the rights of the latter, we must not imitate the injustice of Giafar-Sadec, who enacted, that Jewish or Christian children, who embraced Mahometanism, should be heirs to the whole property.

The edict which annuls debts owing to the Jews by the Christians, must forbid them also from having mortgages from the latter, without which, usury would enter by that door. The bad policy of Poland ought to serve as a caution in this respect. There was a period, when the Jews of that country had all its foreign and internal trade in their hands, and possessed at the same time the best of the landed property (6).

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( 210 )

It will, perhaps, be said, this is precisely the evil to be apprehended. The Jews, after taking advantage of the liberty which they have to exercise commerce and the arts, for the purpose of encreasing their capitals, and of their permission to acquire them, will in the end get possession of the whole landed property, which this nation, while they form only one family, will never suffer to escape from their hands; and thus the Christians will lose all hopes of ever receiving from them what they have lost. To avoid this inconvenience, a learned Benedictine proposes to declare the succession to lands vacant, whenever there are not heirs in the direct line, so that collaterals shall never be admitted to the possession of them. This vacant succession must devolve on the province which may sell the lands, and apply the money thence arising to establishments of public utility. Should this law appear too severe, the half of the purchase money may be granted to the collateral heirs, and the other half set apart for the purpose above mentioned.

Should this system be adopted, I would recommend the following modifications: first, that collateral heirs should have the right of redeeming

( 211 )

redeeming these estates; secondly, that the money which has devolved to the province, should be employed in discharging the debts of the Jewish corporations, or be appropriated to relieve the poor; in a word, to some purpose useful to that nation particularly, or in preference to the Christians.

Might we not in leaving the Jews at liberty to purchase lands, and to rent farms, oblige these people to till them themselves, or by the hands of other Jews assisted by Christian servants? This regulation would have the double advantage of forcing them to apply to agriculture, and of preventing them from enlarging their heritages. Should it be imagined, that their liberty by this would be too much confined, give it more extension, but regulate it in such a manner, that in the purchase of landed property, they shall not exceed a certain sum, as for instance, 20,000 francs.\*

In short, their desire for purchasing lands will not encrease, unless they acquire a country, and entertain hopes of procuring a legal existence: their privileges extended or con-

\* About 800l. sterling.—T

( 212 )

fined according to exigencies, will lead them to merit and demand all the advantages of citizens. And what will not people do to obtain speedily what they ardently wish for?

CHAPTER.

( 213 )

CHAPTER XXV.

*Considerations on the Nature and Causes of the Prejudices of the Jews. In what Manner they are to be remedied.*

WERE the Jews only uncivilized, it would be much easier to reform them: It would be sufficient to sow new land with the hopes of an abundant crop; but they are sunk in ignorance, which has depraved their intellectual faculties. We must, however, admit some flattering exceptions, in favor of a few amiable and learned individuals, who have left their nation far behind them; there is as much difference between them and their Rabbis as between James de Voragine and Bossuet. I speak here of the bulk of the nation, slaves to credulity, and overwhelmed in an ocean of foolish opinions. Commerce generally rectifies false ideas, teaches one to think rationally, and destroys or weakens prejudice; but this is the case only among men, who, enjoying the rights of citizens in the full extent of the word, can live like brothers, or who at least are upon an equal footing; whereas the

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( 214 )

Jews, always kept at a great distance by hatred, and considered in a manner as intermediate beings between us and the brutes, have seldom been able to attain to the dignity of the rest of mankind.

These people still retain their pride in their debased state, and reason only from the ravings of their doctors. Among the Rabbins, Elias the Levite, and Menasser, are almost the only persons who have reduced their traditions to their just value; but too happy in being so judicious with impunity, they have not been able to amend their brethren, who have continued to give vent to reveries, and to corrupt historical facts, so that criticism among them is still to be born. They even created formerly a river *Sabbathius*, which ceased to flow on the sabbath, or flowed only on that day. Perhaps it is to be found in the kingdom of *Cozar*, which is near the sea of *Gargan*. The Jews have given us beautiful descriptions of that country, which never existed but in the imagination. Scarcely can we believe our eyes when we read Benjamin de Tudela (1), and Joseph Bengorion (2), who are, however, the Livy and Tacitus of the synagogue. What then did they formerly produce? those celebrated

( 215 )

brated academies of Tiberias, Sora, Nahardee, Pombe-Ditha, Peruts-Schibbur, Lunel, &c. &c. and in our days, those of Sapheta, Thessalonica, Prague, and Fez? The latter was always the least absurd. Clenard found there some men of learning; but in general, instead of enlarging the boundaries of the human mind, they have consecrated its errors, by publishing as dogmas the flights of a disordered imagination; and in that multitude of Rabbis, who swell the collection of Bartoloci (3), we scarcely find a few good writers handed down with applause to posterity. For want of better, we shall quote Marin Akiba, Maimonides, Kimki, Gerson, the light of the French captivity, Aaron-ben-Chaim, Juda-Ching, Abenezra, Abrabanel, Aaron-ben-Joseph, a Caraité doctor, Elias the Levite, Orbio, and the virtuous Menasseh.

If we, however, extract from their writings what sound reason might deign to acknowledge, what an abundant collection of nonsense and error would remain? We are filled with astonishment, when we read in Abrabanel, and in many other authors, that the bodies of all the Jews who did not die in Palestine will, before they are raised, roll thither

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( 216 )

through subterranean channels, which the Eternal hath dug. The nation at length can boast of possessing a man of genius; but since Joseph the historian, sixteen centuries were requisite to produce a Mendelssohn (4).

It is a long time since an Emperor, in his treatise against the Christians, reproached the ancient Hebrews for their ignorance. This reproach is done away, if we consider that being acquainted with every art necessary to their frugal and laborious kind of life, they may very well dispense with geometricians and chemists. All, or almost all, as at present, could write, and their studies were confined to the laws, which contained a body of doctrine and morality, with a legislative code, suited to their government.

The mad translator of Julian improves upon his master, in reproaching them with having neither musical key nor fashion; and he considers it as a crime, that they are destitute of fine music and anatomy. We indeed find among them neither a Winslow nor a Gluck; and this deficiency, in his eyes, is an abominable offence, of which they can never clear themselves.

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( 217 )

It must be allowed, that there are few original characters among the Jews; they seldom give scope to their genius; and they are afraid of supporting themselves on their own wings; slaves to prejudice, and wandering in the dark path of error, they have only borrowed ideas—and what ideas! They alone, in the present day, believe in the metempsychosis of the wicked. It is well known that, according to their doctors, the souls of adulterers will transmigrate into the bodies of hogs. Alchymy has prepared the way for brilliant discoveries, because error possesses the vestibule of truth. It appears that, even by that, the Jews, searching the absurd calculations of the cabala, ought to have risen to the knowledge of logarithms and fluxions; but they scarcely discovered a few of the properties of the triangle. Ignorant till the ninth century, they then began to make themselves acquainted with the sciences of the Arabs, and being rivals of these people, they soon became more enlightened than other nations. Many of them applied to jurisprudence, several points of which they discussed with uncommon sagacity; others devoted themselves to the study of medicine, which they cultivated, and still cultivate



( 218 )

cultivate with considerable success, especially in the East; and, if we believe the learned Dr. Friend, they were the *princes of that science* in Europe during the middle ages (5). But they give us no high idea of their theory, by their fables respecting the bone *luz*, which is the root of the body, whence all the viscera derive their origin, and which cannot be broken, burnt, or pounded. I have already observed, that some of them engrave with success; that they invented the art of finance; and brought that of hawking about goods to perfection. But how shall we qualify what has been added to it by usury? The Jews, however, have left us a valuable monument upon astronomy, which hastened the progress of that science; for it is to the Jews of Toledo that we are indebted for the Alphonsine tables made out in the thirteenth century.

Except in these points, (may what I say give no offence to one of my countrymen whom I esteem,) I do not see what those discoveries are, for which all ages ought to thank the Hebrew people (6); but when we read in a pamphlet, published about twenty years ago, that Europe is indebted to the Jews for the revival of letters and the fine arts (7), we are tempted

( 219 )

tempted to disbelieve our own eyes, rather than the assertion of the author.

Some Jews have made a conspicuous figure by their eloquence. Their sermons, however, are not, as we are told, but a series of useless discussions, which, instead of clearing up, they render more intricate; and the two with whom Wagenfeil has made us acquainted (8), give us no curiosity for seeing more. The doctrine of the Pharisees is still prevalent in the synagogue; for man, in proportion as he departs from virtue, loves to form to himself an illusion, by substituting in its room practices which are only its shadow and phantom. The ceremonial laws of the pentateuch had an object worthy of the wisdom of God; for religious worship ought to speak to the senses, which are, as one may say, the gates of the soul: but this did not authorize the Rabbis to invent a multitude of ridiculous ceremonies, which tend only to extinguish true piety, and to fetter the genius (9).

It would be a great sin to go to the synagogue in the morning without Tephilims (10); not to light lamps in one's house on the sabbath, and above all, to sit down to table with unwashed hands. This sin, says the Rabbi Jorè,

( 220 )

Joré, is as great as to have connection with a strumpet (11). The quantity and the quality of the water used for this ablution, give rise to a number of difficulties, which have sometimes divided the doctors (12). So many trifles give us reason to think that it would be more difficult to enlighten the Jewish Rabbis than the Samaritans, who are less taken up with these childish conceits; and the Caraites, who reject them entirely, and call the followers of the Pharisees *bridled asses*.

Though I suppress a multitude of silly things, still more absurd, scattered throughout their works, this detail will, perhaps, be considered as ridicule; and some, perhaps, will be so kind as to believe it to be only useless—It is neither the one nor the other.

After having explained the means of reforming the Jews, I wished to make the necessity of this reformation more conspicuous; and to point out those objects on which it ought to be founded: for, had I not respected the patience of the reader, and the unhappy situation of the Jews, I should have mentioned an hundred of their authors, who have published an hundred thousand and one reveries, more absurd, if possible, than those which  
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( 221 )

are contained in the text and the notes at the end of this work. It would appear as if ignorance had commissioned stupidity to digest them. How is it possible that men—that our equals, could carry their madness so far?—and by what fatality are the most incredulous people at the same time the most credulous?—

The traditions of the Jew, his books, and his festivals, continually remind him of miracles; so that, familiarized with the wonderful, credulous through ignorance, and superstitious, through distress, he gives himself up to the most nonsensical falsehoods, and never knows how to distinguish between those avowed miracles respected by the faith, and those absurd tales condemned by reason. The government of the ancient Hebrews was a real theocracy. Since that epoch, they have connected all knowledge with that of the law; even to the sublime science of slaying animals, all has entered into the plan of their religious system. This assemblage gave rise to a number of reveries, to which it has always been permitted to add. Thence, it may be easily judged, that sensible nations cannot easily introduce the Jews among them; because the least changes appear to be dogmatical innovations.



( 222 )

novations. The chaos of talmudical traditions has at length become their theology; but theology, properly called, is a science which is not susceptible of discovery; it exposes articles of belief, and supports those articles upon motives of credibility. If people, therefore, attempt to launch beyond these boundaries, they disfigure the most sublime part of our knowledge; and create *entities, quiddities, reasoning, and reasoned reasons*; that is to say, on which they talk nonsense; and what has happened among us, is more likely to happen among the Jews.

Such are the principal sources of their inconceivable errors, and of their attachment to their ridiculous traditions, which at most excite only the smile of pity. Destroy the causes and the effects will disappear; but the grand obstacle will always arise from the rulers of the synagogue; for the nation think, speak, and act after their decisions; and it can never be too often repeated, that it will be of the highest importance to watch over their education and their ministry, and to confine their power. If they have corrupted the nation, they may also reform it.

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( 223 )

In the proposed plan I have not spoken of the women; but their reformation will be an infallible consequence of that of their husbands, to whom they are entirely subordinate. It has been said, and often repeated, that men will always be what the women wish. Among the Jews, however, this will not be the case; for we must mention another obstacle to their reformation, which is the little esteem they have always entertained for the fair sex. This conduct is common to all those people among whom polygamy, and a permission to divorce, keeps the women in an abject state, and makes them be considered as the vile instruments of pleasure. Legal impurities, which among the Hebrews sometimes remove them from society, have strengthened this manner of thinking. Their primitive object, however, was only to inspire a decent reserve, and to restrain the gross passions.

It appears, by reading Malachi, that the Jews have long merited this reproach. Posterior to the prophet, Dr. Hillel, enumerating the causes which may authorize a divorce, reckons the following: if a woman has boiled her husband's dinner too much. Aquila, still more indulgent, pretends, that it is sufficient

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( 224 )

to find one more agreeable. The custom, says Mr. Roussel, of making women deliver oracles among the Greeks, the Jews, and the Germans, proceeded from a certain respect entertained for the sex (14). *Women deliver oracles among the Jews!* A supposition merely gratuitous. Though divorces at present are very rare among them, and though polygamy be absolutely disused, except, perhaps, in some corner of the East, their unfavourable manner of thinking, with regard to the women, has been perpetuated even to our days (15). Cardoso assures us, but in vain, that they hold them in great esteem (16). Which must we believe? The doctor, who asserts one thing, and experience which contradicts him. Every day, the Jews say to God in their prayers, *Blessed be thou, O Creator of heaven and of earth, because thou hast not made me a woman*; and the woman, humbled, says, *Blessed be thou, because thou hast made me according to thy pleasure*. A very modern author pretends, that they have had some learned women among them (17); another assertion which we wish to be proved. It is certain, that their women, subjected to the despotism of their husbands, have not the art of calling forth their talents;

( 225 )

talents; and that since Zenobia, if she was really a Jewess, not one of them has been distinguished from the multitude. When a people are in an uncivilized state, there are too few moral relations between the man and the woman, to counterbalance the bodily strength of the former; but when the woman can make up for physical inferiority by the charms of her good sense and sentiment, her influence will soften his manners, and his heart will be opened to the impressions of delicacy: the husband, by cherishing his spouse, contracts a habit of respecting his equal; and in general a regard for the fair sex marks out the progress of a nation in civilization. These principles are as foreign to the synagogue as the culture of the fine arts; for the Jews have not sacrificed to the Graces. Lipman wrote, in Hebrew verses, his second Nizzachon, an anti-christian work, which Wagenfeil has fully refuted. Several Italian and Spanish Jews have attempted poetry; and we even have, by Levi de Barrios, *Relacion de los poetas y escritores Espagnoles de la nacion Judaica Amstelodama*. They have, therefore, made verses in Hebrew, Italian, and Spanish; that is to say, setting apart David and the prophets, the oldest collection of the most sublime

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( 226 )

sublime poetry, the Jews have verses and not one poet, except the author of the Cofri (18). We have already seen, that Benjamin of Tudela, when travelling in Greece, found Parnassus inhabited by two hundred Jews, who cultivated it; but this is the only relation they have ever had with that celebrated mountain. They have fertilized its soil, and have never courted the deities who preside over it.

The synagogue, however, has produced a kind of mythology, which, indeed, is not pleasant enough to make up for its stupidity. The Talmudical and Cabbalistical reveries appear so much the more difficult to be destroyed, as they have no foundation; and as people have nothing to support them when they combat in a vacuum. How can we prove to the Jews, that they may marry in the month of May; that an equal number is not unlucky; and that it is not necessary, on the first day of the year, to eat honey, saying—May the Lord grant us a year sweet as honey.—Against this practice, we can with success level the shafts of irony, whenever a Jew is capable of feeling them. Then will be the proper moment to examine the mystic conceits of Rabbinism; to hold them up to ridicule, and

( 227 )

and to substitute the fruits of reason in the room of the extasies of madness. The Jew has drunk of the cup of shame; and when we have got so far as to render him sensible of raillery, we shall have made a considerable progress; for this sensibility will announce, that the moral man is already very much unfolded, and the dread of ridicule will finish what good sense has begun. The influence of this fear will operate, especially in France, where people are in the right when they can raise a laugh; and prejudices will certainly not be retained at the expence of vanity.

Q<sup>2</sup>

CHAP.

( 228 )

CHAPTER XXVI.

*Must the Jews be compelled to adopt the Means proposed to reform them? The Necessity of preparing both the Jews and the Christians for this Event. The Time that will be required to bring it about.*

TO guard against every inconvenience is a thing absolutely impossible. A tincture of imperfection still betrays the work of man. Good and better are in his power; but perfection is a point to which he can never attain. The legislator generalises his views, and surveys them in a whole; but he cannot descend to every detail, and comprehend every exception, nor even cause the general good without sacrificing a few individuals; and if on account of inconveniences, we wish to annihilate the laws, we should overturn the whole world. They clear a mortgagee, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the honest man, though by a concurrence of circumstances which he could not overcome, he has not formed his defence in the manner he wished; they consign over an estate to the

( 229 )

the cheat, who has been able to unite appearances in his favor; they repair the honor of the accused villain, who could not be convicted; on suspicion only of the plague, they confine for forty days in a Lazaretto, the traveller, whose fortune is often ruined by this delay, and because a Jew carries on trade honestly, must we abrogate the law which limits the commerce of these people, and forbids them to sell upon credit? Let private considerations be sacrificed to the public good. *Salus populi suprema lex esto.*

But what shall we do with the Jews who cannot enjoy the advantages offered, and with those who will not? We must assist the good intentions of the first, and inspire the like intentions into the latter, and even compel the bad. Open to them the asylums destined for orphans, and the hospitals established for the infirm; introduce talents into your charitable institutions, and into your free schools; invite benevolence to your assistance, set on foot subscriptions, and erect temples of pity, avoiding, however, to incite jealousy, which would soon produce hatred. But what shall we do with those whose manners are already formed? Must they renounce this second nature; will

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( 230 )

you change their moral constitution; will you repair the education of the veteran of sixty, whose reason is like a shapeless block, or sunk in filth? Will you oblige him who has sold faulty horses to the unsuspecting farmer, to take them back? No, this would be torturing them to no purpose, and subjecting in vain an incombustible substance to the fire of a reverberating furnace: it will be a great deal, if they can be prevented from propagating the contagion of ignorance and vice to their children.

There are beings so wicked, that they seem to be hurried on by a desire of doing mischief—perversity appears inherent in their nature. We shall find Jews obstinately continue their detestable manœuvres, and their usurious practices; but the number will decrease; their deceptions, easier to be detected, will be punished in the severest manner, and a barrier will be opposed to their depravation, when they see the public eye continually on the watch behind them, and punishment by the side of crimes. The heart must revolt at constraint; but can we condemn prohibitions or coercive orders, which will reduce the refractory to a negative resistance?

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( 231 )

We must merit their gratitude in spite of them, and constrain them in a manner that may conduce to their advantage, as well as to that of society. Without their exclaiming against want of toleration, we may compel their children to frequent our schools, and annually subject them to exercises and public examinations. Government must not intrude so far as to cause polemical dissertations to be made in their synagogues; but it can and ought to enlighten the public religious instruction of the Jews, and prevent the minds of their children from being filled with so many talmudical reveries, which disgust the dullest person of good sense. Let us not, however, attack their prejudices with violence, which would only make them more refractory. A sure method of setting them against us, would be to burlesque on the stage their religious ceremonies. This, however, was done in Germany, in a pantomime ballet entitled the *Jewish Wedding*, and we cannot but applaud Mr. Bernoulli, who, having seen it represented at Hoff, in Franconia, exclaimed loudly against the indecency of this farce (1).

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( 232 )

It would be offering an insult to the clergy and the magistrates, to suppose that they will not unite in every thing to hasten the execution of the plan proposed. A delicate, but indispensable article is, to prepare both the Jews and the Christians for this reformation. Let us speak to the hearts of the latter in favor of their brethren in our public schools, and on the steps of the sanctuary; and let us insensibly dispose the Jews to adopt the views of ministry in such a manner, that we may appear rather to enter among them, than to wish that they should come to us. Let us disseminate fear, and above all, hope; let us hold forth attractions to them; let us invite them by favors, distinction and interest. The latter object is all-powerful, for man has always more inclination to yield to that pleasure, than courage to overcome pain.

A gentleman, illustrious by his name, as well as by his personal qualities, in a letter (2) to me, says, "On this subject, (the reformation of the Jews) and upon almost all those of legislation, I have always been of opinion, that it is necessary to begin by instructing the public. Before laws are published, the wisest legislators have constantly assembled councils, in

( 233 )

in order to frame them; such were the conferences on the ordinances of 1667 and 1670, the proceedings of which we have printed; but there is no council of ministers or magistrates equal to that of the whole nation, which may be procured by the influence they have."

Shall I be believed if I point out almanacks as an easy and infallible mean of favoring the propagation of knowledge among the inferior classes of society. One can scarcely conceive the extent of their happy or unlucky influence over the vulgar, according as they are the productions of reason or of folly. Forty thousand copies of that of Balle are cast off annually, which are printed both in that city, and in Colmar, by an inhabitant of Berlin, who has a privilege for that purpose. Savoyards hawk about through all France this absurd repertory, which has perpetuated till near the end of the eighteenth century the prejudices of the twelfth. For eight sols each peasant purchases this chiro-mantic and astrological collection, dictated by folly and bad taste. The sale of this work indeed for some years has been much less, because, thanks to the clergy of the second order,



( 234 )

order, more rational ideas of every kind have made their way even to the cottage. These facts, without doubt, are unknown to the ministry, otherwise they would adopt this mode of instruction to diffuse every where the result of experiments in agriculture, farriery, and the paternal views of government, &c.

The reformation of the Jews will not indeed be the work of a moment, for it is well known, that the progress of reason, like that of the sea, is not perceptible till after a number of ages; but though moral revolutions are generally very slow, this of the Jews will be more rapid. According to Michaelis and Schwager, in ten generations the Hebrews will not be fit for the occupation of war. Mr. Dolun lessens this period, which we shall confine within still narrower boundaries. Certain vices, more inherent either on account of their nature, or because habit has strengthened them, such as a thirst for gain, will not, perhaps, disappear entirely till the end of a century; but this excepted, I am inclined to believe, that in two generations this reformation will be complete, for every thing will concur to effect it.

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( 235 )

At first we shall have Jews of two kinds; the one always devoted to ignorance, and sunk in the filth of prejudices; but the second, rising above error, will attain to the same degree of reason and knowledge as other people: the latter will eagerly unite with us in accomplishing the work, either from humanity, in order to extend the benefits of the law to all their brethren, or from vanity, to render the obstacles which they have overcome more striking, or to increase in our eyes the interval which separates them from a degenerate tribe.

The Jew is born with the same disposition as we; let us, therefore, curb his usury, confine his commerce, direct his views to other objects, enlarge his mind, elevate his heart, overcome his prejudices, and engage him by the most powerful motives to acquire knowledge. Before his eyes he will have our education, our legislation, and our discoveries, in which he is about to partake. All these means united, will make an universal impression; they will shake the whole Jewish nation, and even constrain those who oppose them; for when people have to struggle continually against instruction, evidence, authority, pleasure,

( 236 )

sure, example, ridicule, and necessity, in order to preserve absurd opinions and heterogeneous customs, reason must recover its rights, the character new impressions, and the manners a better form.

CHAP.

( 237 )

CHAPTER XXVII.

*Review of the Whole. Conclusion.*

AFTER having delineated a picture of the misfortunes of the Jewish people, I have refuted many calumnies thrown out against them. I have traced out the causes that have produced and perpetuated the reciprocal hatred between them and other nations, which has changed their physical and moral character. I have clearly pointed out the danger that may arise from tolerating them in their present state, the necessity of reforming them, and the possibility of accomplishing that end. Seldom have I appealed to future experience, for the past has almost always come to the support of my reasoning. I believe that I have included in this plan, all those means which can change opinions, and rectify the moral man; but have I enforced them with energy sufficient to move the heart, by carrying conviction to the mind?

There are some details into which I have not entered, that I might not offer an insult to the penetration of the reader, because questions included in each other, are answered from the same principles. Does the painter

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( 238 )

who sketches out a large picture, employ himself upon the frame of it?

The reader will, doubtless, forgive me, for having sometimes assumed a decisive air, when it is considered, that the expressions *probably* and *perhaps*, already too often employed, could tend only to weaken the didactic strain of the work. Though persuaded that I am defending a good cause, this conviction does not banish diffidence, which youth and moderate talents must inspire. Should my endeavors prove fruitless, I shall still find consolation in the motive by which I have been actuated; but I shall consider myself as amply rewarded for my labor, if they tend to alleviate the miseries of an unhappy nation, and to procure them a more eloquent defender. I must, however, observe, that they will not find one more zealous.

Deny not, ye who are enemies to every innovation, that this plan will prove abortive, until you have made the experiment. Are you of so peevish a disposition as to require that the revolution should be completed, and the first trial brought to perfection immediately after it is begun? Do not enlarge upon small inconveniences, for if man were to adopt no plans but those entirely free from them

( 239 )

them, he would never come to any determination at all. Let us congratulate ourselves on the happiness of having as contemporaries some sovereigns, whom we can praise without flattering, that is to say, without debasing them. Let us hope that projects, inspired by humanity, urged by necessity, and supported by religion, will one day be promoted by the depositaries of public authority. Already Gustavus and Sweden, Joseph\* and Germany, Louis XVI. and France, begin to open to the Jews their pacific bosoms. Peter the Great durst not attempt to make them Russians: he wished first to re-generate his own people; but the work will be finished, and Catherine II. is still alive.

O! nations, for eighteen centuries ye have been treading under foot the remains of Israel.—Divine vengeance hath displayed its severity against them; but have you been commissioned to be the instruments of it? The fury of your fathers selected their victims from this deserted flock; what treatment do you reserve for the timid lambs who have escaped the slaughter, and taken shelter in your bo-

\* The original was published before the death of the late Emperor.—T

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( 240 )

foms? Is it enough to leave them life, while you deprive them of every thing that can render it desirable? Will your hatred form a part of the inheritance which you bequeath to your children? No longer judge of this nation, except from the future; but if you again review the past crimes, and the present corruption of the Jews, let it be in order to lament your own work. Being the cause of their vices, become that also of their virtues; discharge your debt, and that of your ancestors.

A new age is about to commence. Let the palms of humanity adorn its front; and let posterity, by anticipation, applaud the junction of your hearts. The Jews are members of that universal family which ought to establish fraternity among all nations; and over them as well as us, revelation extends its majestic veil. Children of the same Father, leave no pretence for the aversion of your brethren, who will one day be united with you in the same sheep-fold. Open asylums where they may dry up their tears, and repose their heads in peace.—In short, let the Jew, loving the Christian with reciprocal affection, embrace in me his fellow-citizen and his friend.

THE END.

NOTES.

# N O T E S.

## C H A P T E R I.

(1) SEE the Dissertations of Mr. de Correvon, at the end of his translation of Addison's *Treatise on the Christian Religion*. Genev. 1771. V. III. "Is it not dreadful," says the translator, "to see the Jews blindly follow Barchochebas, who had nothing but his name to support his mission, whilst they rejected Jesus Christ, in whom every thing announced his divinity?"

(2) St. Jerome in *Sophoni*. Chap. 10.

(3) *Leges Wisigothorum*. Chap. 12.

(4) *Chronie. Rothomag.* in *Novâ Bibliot.* MS. T. I. page 363.

(5) Some authors, as the Saxon chronographer and the chronicler of Wurtzbourg, reduce this number to 1014. Some modern writers have been pleased to invert the calculation, and to kill 14000. But let us not exaggerate; a thousand innocent persons killed are enough to grieve the heart.

(6) *Annales Boiorum*. Lib. V.

(7) *Epistol.* 321 and 323. Metz is perhaps the only city where the crusaders did not embue their hands in the blood of the Jews. Louis the Young, on his departure for Palestine, assembled his army there, and yet it is not said that the Jews of that place received any insult. The silence of history in this respect amounts to a positive proof, if we consider that Metz then had historians.

(8) I hope one day to trace out the revolutions of a people, whose cause I at present plead, and to examine the erroneous relation of the accusers of Cyrille; a narration adopted by Barbeyrac, in his preface to the *Law of Nature and Nations*, and by the learned James Bafnage in his *History of the Jews*. Without offence to Mr. de Boiss, who, in his *Critical Dissertations*, boasts of the impartiality of the latter, I shall some time or other assign sufficient causes for my assertion, by displaying the prejudices and partiality of Bafnage respecting the article just mentioned; the in-

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decent and calumnious manner in which he treats the Afmoneans; the miracle that took place when Julian attempted to rebuild the temple, &c. &c.

(9) Agobardi Opera de Insolentia Judæorum. T. I. pag. 64, edit. of Baluze. Louis the Mild, a prince of an affable disposition, surrounded by courtiers, who hated the prelate of Lyons, and who loved the presence of the Jews, obstinately refused all the solicitations of Agobard, and never granted him an audience but when he was about to depart. These courtiers carried their flattery towards the Jews so far, as to desire that they would remember them in their prayers.

Was it necessary, or had they a right to prevent the Bishop from baptising the pagan slaves of the Jews, without first obtaining the consent of their masters, under a pretence, that as the laws forbade the latter to have Christian slaves, they would have lost the purchase money? Justice required that these new converts should be obliged to continue in their servitude, if slavery be admissible. But what proves that the zeal of Agobard was moderate, is, that he offered to reimburse the Jews for the expense they had been at in purchasing them.

(10) Tillemont Memoirs pour servir a l'Histoire Ecclesiastique. Tom. XVI. Vita Ferreol. in Append. Operis MS. Ant. Dominici, cui titulus: Familia Ansberti rediviva. Le Cointe Annales eccles. Fr. vita S. Hilarii par St. Honorat, son disciple. Formerly the Archbishop of Mayence was avowedly *Advocatus* of the Jews.

(11) Raynald. *Papum. Pagi Breviarium Gestor. Pontif. T. I.* It is said, that Philip III. King of Spain, being obliged to assist at an *auto-da-fé*, could not refrain from tears, when he saw a young Jewess and a Moor, of between fifteen and sixteen years of age, committed to the flames. The Grand Inquisitor made this a crime, and told him that it must cost him blood, in order to expiate it. The King suffered himself to be blooded, and the blood taken from him was burnt by the hand of the executioner. If this fact, which is still doubtful, be true, let us shed tears with Philip III. What a contrast between that ferocity which religion abhors and the compassionate mildness of the sovereign Pontiffs towards the Jews—a mildness inspired by Christianity, the doctrines of which it causes to be beloved. When a new Pope is elected, the  
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Jews go and wait for him in the road leading to St. John de Lathan, in order to pay their respects to him, and present him with a roll of the Mosaic law.

(12) Felicité publique. T. II. Chap. 1.

(13) Histoire de Languedoc, par Vaissette. T. II.

(14) David Gantz. *Germen Davidis.*

(15) The Jews driven from France, under Dagobert I. Philip Augustus, Philip the Tall, and Charles VI. were banished for the last time, in 1615. Louis XIII. ordered them to evacuate his territories within a month, under pain of death. Those of Metz and Bourdeaux were, however, excepted. We read in the Memoirs of the Regency of the Duke of Orleans that in 1718, they offered several millions of livres to obtain a legal establishment and a synagogue at Paris; but the Regent refused, though he had occasion for money.

(16) It was to the States of Ploermel that John I. filed the *Red*, published that fulminating edict, in 1239, according to some, and 1240 according to others, by which he exonerated the debtors of the Jews *quittavimus et quittamus*. Bafnage says that the edict of that prince declared every person innocent who should kill a Jew. This clause only concerns the past; it merely forbade those to be disturbed who had recently killed one, and in this the author quoted by Bafnage (*D'Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, Lib. IV.*) and *de Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne. Tom. I. and II.* in the proofs) both agree, though these two writers differ in other respects in relating each the text.—John le Roux engages for himself and his successors, for the present and the future, to support this law, and if he violates it, he authorises the Bishops to excommunicate him, and to confiscate his lands in their dioceses, without regard to any privileges.

(17) Ademar Cabillon. *Chronic. apud Labbe, in Novâ Biblio. MS. T. I. pag. 177.*

(18) *Ut quos rex excoriaverat, Comes evisceraret.* Matthew Paris, An. 1255.

(19) *Æneas Sylvius Hist. Boh. ch. 35. Crusius Annales, Suevi, &c.*

(20) From 1663 to 1666. The exaggerating Dr. Dodd, when in prison, dreamed that no Jews have been found in Persia since  
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[ 244 ]

the last persecution, under Schah Abbas II. The truth is, that their number, formerly excessive in that country, is only decreased, because people oppressed them with impunity. A multitude of Jews, whose character for honesty is far from being favorable, are still found in Persia, particularly in the northern provinces. In the time of a drought, the Persians go in procession to appease the anger of Heaven, and they oblige the Jews to do the same. See *L'Histoire des Découvertes faites par divers savans Voyageurs dans plusieurs Contrées de la Russie, et de la Perse*. Berne, 1779. Tom. II. page 363 et seq.

## CHAPTER II.

(1) LIFE of Cromwell by Gregorio Leti. We find there an account of the deputation of the Jews to the Protector, who, instead of assuming the quality of Messiah, was very angry at their request.

(2) It is well known that they have penetrated into America, and even into the possessions of the Spaniards in that country. They are already very numerous among the Anglo-Americans. (See Burnaby's *Travels into the interior Parts of North America*.) The Jews, every where bent under the yoke, have carried with them their tears and their despair. "Had they been all converted by Jesus Christ," says Pascal, "we should at present have had only suspected witnesses, and had they been exterminated, we should have had none at all." [See his *Thoughts*, article 16.]

(3) When Andrew, under Trajan, gave himself out for the Messiah, and engaged his adherents to exterminate the infidels, the Jews massacred more than two hundred and twenty thousand persons in Cyrenia and the island of Cyprus. Dion and Eusebius say, that not contented with killing them, they eat their flesh, made girdles of their intestines, and besmeared themselves with their blood.

(4) More than twenty different people assumed the title of Messiah, before Zabbathai-Zevi, who appeared in the last century. The Rabbis dare no longer mark out the precise moment of the coming of their deliverer; but it is some centuries since they have pretended to determine the epoch. The impostor David Lim-

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[ 245 ]

leins, fixed it at the year 1500. He obliged the Jews to demolish their ovens, in which they baked unleavened bread. These ovens were become useless, since the year following they were to eat unleavened bread at Jerusalem.

That council of Jews, held in Hungary, in the year 1650, at which Samuel Bret pretends that he assisted, is very singular if it be true. Three hundred Rabbis assembled, encamped under tents, on the plain of Ageda. The first day was spent in compliments, and on the following days they deliberated whether the Messiah was come or still to be expected. A plurality of voices determined that he was not come. A debate then ensued on the manner in which he would appear, and it was decided that he would shew himself as a conqueror; that he would not change the law of Moses; and that he would be born of a virgin. The Rabbis afterwards debated, whether Jesus Christ was the Messiah, and agreed that he was not.

## CHAPTER III.

(1) VILLARET HÉR. de France, 1393.

(2) I have no where read that the Jews in the middle ages were subjected to the ordeal. Before the trials by boiling water, red hot iron and duels, they were sometimes made to swear that they would employ no enchantment, in order to prevent the effects, whether natural or supernatural, which they expected from these causes. The Jews were, perhaps, believed to be as capable of exercising magic, as of taking false oaths.

(3) Mr. Beraud de Bercastel, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, volume third, page 211. denies the horrid cruelties practised by the Jews on Christian children; whilst Mr. Feller, in the *Journal of Luxembourg*, for Oct. 1, 1782, endeavors to find a multitude of incontestable facts of this kind. The author of the *Jewish Letters*, volume fourth, page 346, is inclined to believe that these accusations are not void of foundation.

(4) All the Jews were driven from St. Diz, by the Duke of Lorraine, because one of them had insulted the sacred host; the criminal's house was sold, and it now belongs to the chapter. In remembrance of this event, the tenant every year, clothed in a black

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cloak



[ 246 ]

cloak, goes alone, on Good-Friday, and places on the altar a box, containing a thousand hosts to be consecrated. I have said, that this fact appears to be authentic; for I do not see that the Jew's crime is absolutely beyond a doubt.

Ruyr himself confesses that several opinions have been entertained on this subject. Besides, he relates after Richerius, a monk of Senones. Both of them are too credulous, as we may judge from the following anecdote preserved in their works. A Jew bewitched a young girl, and while she was sleeping soundly, tore away her matrix. When the girl awakened, and perceived that she wanted something, she began to cry. The circumstance was soon spread abroad, and a visit from the midwife proved that she had been deprived of her uterus. The Jew, when accused, confessed his crime, and being condemned to death, was tied to the tail of a horse. As the executioners were dragging him to the gibbet, he affirmed that he had some very important secrets to disclose; but the person who led the horse pushed on, because the Jews had promised him a sum of money not to give the criminal any opportunity of speaking; lest he should accuse them in his depositions; and in consequence of this he was quickly hung up, with his head downwards. See the chronicle of Richerius, in the third volume of the *Spicilegium* of D'Achery. It is the 22d chap. of the printed copy, and the 36th of the original MS. preserved in the Abbey of Senones. See also the 37th chapter, and Ruyr, *Recherches des Saintes Antiquités des Vosges*. Epinal 1634, chap. 15 and 16.

In the college of St. Gudule, at Brussels, there are still preserved some of the sacred hosts profaned by the Jews. That of the convent des Billetes, at Paris, is also known. See *L'Histoire de la Nite Dieu*. Liege, 1781.

(5) People are not sufficiently sensible how much men are inclined to draw general conclusions from particular facts, and the history of the traveller, who wrote in his Album, that all the women of Blois were red haired and peevish, because his landlady was so, presents us only with a picture of what is done every day.

Bonfinius (*Rerum Hungaricarum*. Decas IV. lib. 4. and Decas V. lib. 3.) relating, that in 1494, the Jews of Tyrnau murdered a young child, assigns, as motives for this action—First, because they

[ 247 ]

they hold it from their ancestors that the blood of Christians applied to the wound made by circumcision, has the property of stopping the hemorrhage. Secondly, this blood mixed with their food, strengthens the bonds of their mutual friendship. Thirdly, the Jews being subject to periodical evacuations, Christian blood administered in a potion is a certain remedy against this inconvenience. Fourthly, an ancient decree, of which they make a mystery, obliges them constantly to sacrifice Christians in some part of the world, and precisely in that year, the Jews of Tyrnau were commissioned to perform these sacrifices. What pity! Pierius Valerianus, in his hieroglyphics, assures us that the Jews purchase, at a dear rate, the blood of Christians, in order to raise up devils, and that by making it boil they obtain answers to all their questions.

The charge brought, in the last century, against some Jews of Metz, accused of having killed a child in the village of Glatigny, is well known; the author of a work, entitled, *A Short Account of the Trial of the Jews of Metz*, appears to have been a little too credulous, but the memoir in the *Bibliothèque de Saint Jove*, Vol. I. is a miserable refutation of it. However, the parliament of Metz, in 1670, condemned Raphael Levi to be burned alive, which was done; ordered that the sentence should be engraven on a plate of copper, and fixed to a pillar of cut stone, erected in the Jews' street, but this was never executed; and forbade them, under pain of death, to expose in their rites a crucifix, or any thing else in derision of Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, or other objects of religious veneration.

The Jews of Metz are accustomed to fast on the anniversary of the execution of Raphael Levi, and to pay visits of ceremony to the descendants of his family.

(6) See his *Dissertations*, Vol. II. page 104, et sequen. Sedecias, Physician of Charles the Bald, had served Louis the Mild, in the same capacity. If we believe the Chronicle of Hirsauge, he diverted that prince and his court, by swallowing a man, whose feet and hands he had cut off, and he afterwards brought him up alive. It is even said, that one day, in presence of the court, he eat a cart-load of hay, together with the carman and the horses; which, perhaps, was not true.

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(7) Scrip-

- (7) *Scriptores Rerum Moguntiacarum*. T. III. pag. 175.  
(8) *Endeſtes Judenthum*, 2 vol. 4to.  
(9) *Hiſt. de Fran.* Par le P. Daniel, regne de Philip-le-long.  
(10) The death of the Grand Maſter Molè is a ſubject really fit for the theatre; it is ſurpriſing that no one has yet written a tragedy upon it.

CHAP. IV.

- (1) ON this ſubject we find a curious paſſage in Ammianus Marcellinus B. II. "Marcus Aurelius," ſays he, "paſſing through Paleſtine, in order to go to Egypt, being harraſſed and fatigued with the Jews, a ſinking and ſeditious nation, he exclaimed, in a paſſion—O! Marcomanni, O! Quadi! O Sarmatians! at length, I have found a people ſtill more rebellious than you."  
(2) Maimonides, in his *Morè Nevochim*, part III. chap. 46, remarks, with great good ſenſe, that if Moſes commanded the Jews to ſacrifice rams, oxen, and he-goats, it was to make them abominate the worſhip paid to theſe animals by the Thebans, the Memphites, and the Mendefians.  
(3) Tacit. *Hiſt.* Lib. V. accuſes them of deteſting all nations. Boulanger, after many others, reproaches them with the ſame thing. We are aſſured, that in Africa, they ſhew even more hatred againſt the Moors than againſt the Chriſtians. See *La Relation de Fez et de Maroc*, traduite de l'Anglois, et publiè par Oakley. Amſterd. 1726.

CHAP. V.

- (1) *ANTIQUITE* dévoile par ſes uſages.  
(2) *Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais*, &c. a M. de Voltaire. T. I. page 32. Paris, 1776.  
(3) See *Les penſées d'Oxenſtern*.  
(4) Theſe three ſects are, Firſt, that of the Rabbiniſts, or modern Pharifees. This, which is the moſt numerous, comprehends the German and Portugueſe Jews, and all thoſe who admit oral traditions, the *talmud*, the *midraſchim*, the *pirke abbot*, &c.

Secondly,

Secondly, the Samaritans, who are now found in no country but Egypt or Judea, where they have ſome ſynagogues. Beaveau, a native of Lorrain, in his travels into the Levant, part third, reduces their whole number to two hundred and fifty. Their principal place of reſidence is at Naplouſa, the ancient Sichem, confounded, very improperly, with Samaria by D'Herbelot and other authors. They continue to offer up ſacrifice upon Mount Gerizim; and of all the Jews, they are the only ſect who perform that ceremony. Perſuaded that the Engliſh Jews were of the ſame ſect, they wrote to them about the end of the laſt century. Their letters were addreſſed to their brethren in the city of England. They alſo returned answers to Joſeph Scaliger and Luſdolph, who had written to them.

Thirdly, the Caraites, who, in ſmall numbers, are diſperſed throughout Poland, Conſtantinople, and Egypt. By an enumeration, made about the middle of the laſt century, and which can be accounted only an approximation, there were found to be of this ſect no more than four thouſand four hundred and thirty. Some are of opinion, that they are the deſcendants of the *Saducees*, but this is doubtful; for the Caraites admit the immortality of the ſoul, and, by a neceſſary conſequence, the puniſhments and rewards of a future life. Conſidered collectively, they are the honeſteſt people among the Jews, and they are alſo the moſt ſenſible, for they reject the traditions of the Talmud. They are acquainted with only one vain ceremony, for they conſider prayers as of no avail if they have not lighted flambeaux near them. Trigland boaſts much of their frugality and cleanlineſs. He aſſures us, with Cuneus, that the Caraites, generally very rich, are ſometimes embarraſſed in marrying their daughters, becauſe they have extended very far the prohibitions which relate to conſanguinity; that on the other hand the Rabbiniſts, who deteſt them, will not enter into any alliances with them; and that the Rabbiniſts, though they behold every thing with the eye of intereſt, which abſorbs all their energy, chooſe rather to renounce opulence, than have fathers-in-law who do not dote like themſelves. See Cuneus de Repub. Heb. Lib. III. chap. 8, and Trigland, *Diatribe de ſectâ Carworum*.

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[ 250 ]

The Essenians no longer exist. Some authors have found several points in which this sect approach near to the Pythagoreans; but have they remarked the great conformity which there is between them and the Quakers? The Essenians were distinguished by an air of dignity, a simplicity in dress, united to the most scrupulous regard to cleanliness, a fondness for labor, the greatest concord among themselves, and a mild and hospitable disposition. They kept no domestics, and considered slavery as contrary to humanity; war appeared to them an insult to the laws of nature; faithful observers of their word, they never took any oath; in their religious assemblies, the most enlightened, or he who thought himself so, rose up to instruct the rest, &c. &c. We should indeed believe this character to be that of the Quakers. It would appear as if George Fox had formed his doctrine from the description which Josephus and Philo have given of the Essenians.

I have always been surprised that the Jews, continual objects of persecution, have not revived the sect of the Rechabites, and that they have not become *Nomades*. They have more motives for embracing this kind of life than our gypsies or wandering Bohemians.

(5) Ockley's Account of Fez and Morocco, &c.

(6) Buffet Hist. des Variations.

(7) When the Messias shall appear, pleasurè will be as frequent as rain, says a certain Rabbi.

## CHAP. VI.

(1) BAEZE, a rich Jew merchant, having been put to the rack, confessed the conspiracy formed against the house of Braganza. See *The Revolutions of Portugal by Vertot*. The Jews are accused also of having delivered up Barcelona to the Moors: This is an accusation of the Annalist of St. Bertin.

(2) Journal Encyclop. Nov. 1ere, 1781.

(3) Jewish Letters, Vol. II. page 170.

(4) Travels through Sicily and Malta, by Brydone, Vol. I. page 243. The author of a work on Geography, dedicated to Mlle. de Crozat, says that the conspiracy was discovered by an Armenian, and a converted Jew. We read also of a Jew, who during the

[ 251 ]

the siege of Tunis by Charles V. saved the lives of several thousand Christian slaves, whom Barbarossa intended to put to death.

(5) See Memoires sur le Brandenbourg.

(6) Ockley's Account of Fez, &c.

(7) E. b. page 77.

(8) Ambrose Parè, in the eighth chapter of his Surgery. See also Haller's *Physiology*. The leprosy penetrates walls seven fathoms thick, says Joubert, in his *Popular Errors*. Book II. chap. 12.

(9) Some writers assert, that Hypocrits having declared that the queen would remain always barren were the edict suffered to exist, it was immediately annulled. But I would ask any man of sense if so gross and foolish credulity in the present century, and in an enlightened country is at all probable? When I assert that the libertinism of the Jews was the cause of this revocation, I follow the account of a well informed writer, whose authority has never been called in question. It is that of Dr. Guedres, a Jew known by his long residence at Jerusalem; by his travels into these parts of the ancient world, and by his English poem, entitled *The Israelites on Mount Horeb*.

(10) See a Spanish treatise, as curious as it is rare, entitled *Los excellentes de los Hebreos. Por el Doctor Isaac Cardozo*. Amst. 1679, in quarto, and the work which forms a supplement to it, in order to refute the calumnies thrown out against the Jews.

(11) Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*. Chap. II. IV. and VIII.

(12) See *Les Ceremonies Funebres de toutes les Nations*, Par Muret. Paris, 1679. Chap. XVI.

(13) Travels in England and Italy, by Mr. Archenholz. The author of a work entitled London, Vol. II. is of a contrary opinion. He quotes the English Jews as very respectable peoples, firmly attached to the constitution, and whose capitals form a part of the national riches.

(14) Bern. Valentini. *Pandectæ medico-legales*. Frankfurt, 1701. Vol. I. pag. 4, 20. *Tractatus de Judaismo*. Giffæ, 1660. Behrens *Selecta Medica*. Frank. 1708. Page 26, &c. Holzius *Miscel. Germ. Decas prima*. In Holland the Jews are sometimes admitted into the lodges of the Free-masons: but for some time past they have been excluded at Berlin.

(15) Tostat. *Primo Reg. quæstione octava*.

(16) Deci-

[ 252 ]

(16) *Decisions aures.* Augustæ Taurinæ 1597. Second part Book II. chap. 23. &c.

(17) *Dodecas legalis de Judæorum Receptione ac Tolerantiâ.* Jenæ 1700.

(18) *Decisions aures.* Book II. chap. 23.

(19) *Histoire de Théodose,* par Flechier. Liv. III. and Boiss. *Dissertations pour servir à l'Histoire des Juifs.* Tom II page 24, et seq. The author of a *Letter to a Nobleman* &c. pretends, that the Jews never had a turn for making proselytes. The authors above quoted, produce proofs to the contrary, and the author of the *Letter* may choose between falsehood and ignorance.

(20) See *Præstantium ac eruditorum virorum Epistolæ ecclesiæ.* Amsterd. 1660. There is an extract of a letter from the President of the collegiate church of Geneva, dated 1632, which relates, that Anthony Lorrain, educated among the Jesuits of Pont-à-Mousson, converted by Ferri, minister of Metz, and afterwards very intimate with the Jews of that city and of Venice, adopted their dogmas, and was burnt at Geneva in 1632. Bucer, Ritangel, Bodin, Father Mena, &c. are mentioned as having Judaized in secret, but these uncertain facts have not yet received the seal of truth.

(21) *Concile Agathens.* Chap. XXXIV. pag. 1389 and 1390. Edit. de Labbe. *Concile Veneti,* an. 405. Chap. XII. pag. 1056.

(22) *Thoughts in Prison,* by Dr. Dodd.

(23) Maillet. *Descript. de l'Egypte.* Lettre 12.

(24) *Hist. des decouvertes faites,* par, &c.

(25) Boiss. *Dissertat.* T. II. page 170.

(26) *Relation des Peres de la Mercy, au Royaume de Fez et Maroc en 1687.*

(27) *Basnage,* Liv. VIII. chap. 30. The Jews pay four kinds of taxes to the Sultan. First, for every male child. Secondly, for the right of having synagogues. Thirdly, for permission to inter their dead. Fourthly, for purchasing tents for the Mahometans. The origin of this tax is as follows: Some Jews having taken it into their heads, to say that they alone should enter Paradise, the Turks who were present, replied, where shall we be then? The Jews, intimidated, and not daring to exclude them altogether, decided that they would be admitted into the courts and avenues.

[ 253 ]

nets. In consequence of this the Grand Vizier imposed a new tax on the Jews, in order to buy tents for the Mussulmans, and to shelter them from the inclemencies of the weather. See *Essais sur Paris,* par M. de Saint Foix. Tom. IV. page 135, &c.

(28) The *Chronicle of Swisserland,* by Stumpf, contains wooden cuts, representing a Jew suspended by the heels, close to a dog. I must here remark that the Jews have been expelled from every part of Swisserland, and that none of them are found there now, if we except a few families in the county of Baden.

Even at present, when the dogs become too numerous at Leghorn, they are killed and thrown into the Jew's burying ground. *Voyage de Hasselquist,* second part. pag. 4.

(29) It was necessary that an edict should be published from the throne in order to free them from corporal toll in Alsace. *Lettres-patentes de 1784.*

(30) *Basnage.* Liv. IX. chap. 14.

(31) *Shafsbury's Miscellanies.* Vol. III. Part second, chap. 3.

## C H A P. VII.

(1) *VOYAGE de Roques.* Paris, 1716. Tom. I. pag. 107. The learned Abbé Winkelman, in the second volume of his *History of Art among the Ancients,* assures us that the Jews formerly might have served as excellent models, and he remarks with Joseph Scaliger, that no flat noses are found among their descendants. He might have added that among the Jews, children resemble their parents more generally than among us. Two Jewish beauties in modern times have made a deep impression with their charms. One of them is the beautiful Esther, beloved by Casimir the Great, King of Poland. At the distance of a mile from Casimir, which is the suburbs of Cracow, there is still to be seen a small mount called Esther's tomb.

The other is the beautiful Rachel, mistress to Alphonso, VIII. King of Castille. That Prince having published a law forbidding the Jews to exercise their worship, the Rabbis resolved to send a young Jewish virgin to the monarch, and for this purpose chose Rachel. Alphonso, struck with her charms, revoked the decree; but the Castilians, in a rage, put Rachel to death. This fact, respecting



[ 254 ]

speaking which historians are divided, has furnished the subject of a Spanish theatrical piece.

(2) M. Michaelis *Beurtheilung über die bürgerliche verbesserung der Juden* von Ch. W. Dohm.

(3) *Voyage de Misson*.

*Voyage de Norwege*, par M. Mallet, pag. 235. Benjamin de Tudela, observed that the Jews who had been transplanted into Africa, and above all Abyssinia, for above six centuries had become black. There have been many Dissertations on the black and white Jews of Cochim, who heartily hate each other. When a white Rabbi enters a synagogue where a black Rabbi is praying, the latter is obliged to give up his place, and to go out immediately. As yet we have only very vague and uncertain accounts respecting these people, but probably this distinction of black and white, indicates only a darker or fairer complexion. The Europeans, both white and brown, are all called white in those countries where the complexion of the natives differs in a striking manner from ours.

(5) Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*. Hasselquist informs us that the Jews of Cairo are very subject to the Tenia, which he attributes principally to their being accustomed to eat abundance of sweet-meats.

(6) The passage of Abrabanel is found in Reusselius. *Dissert. de Pestilent. a Deo, &c.* at Deuteronom. chap. 28, and in Carpozivius. *Dissert. de Filio Hominis ad antiquum Dierum delato, &c.* Marc-Zimara ascribes the hemorrhoides of the Jews to their melancholy:

(7) *Tostat on First Kings*. Chap. 5. Bonfinius *Rerum Hungaricarum*, B. II. chap. 26.

(8) Cardoso. See the chapter *non cela y sangré*.

(9) Martial Epigr. B. IV. Rutilii Numant *Itinerarium*, Fortunat. *Pœm.* B. V. Ammianus Marcellinus B. XXII. The author of *Roma Santa* says that they lose their stink by baptism. The Jews retort these calumnies upon us, for the Rabbis assert that the Devil diffused a stink over Eve, which she transmitted to all her posterity, and from which the Jews alone are exempted. All nations have a collection of aspersions more or less against these people.

[ 255 ]

ple; but the denomination of *Jew* and *stinking fellow* almost always occupy the first place. When prejudice and malevolence wished to vilify the Gahets of Gascony, and the Caqueux of Bretagne, they were accused of having a bad smell and a Jewish origin. See the Abbé Venuti's Dissertations.

(10) Hecquet and Sauray ascribe their bad smell to the great quantity of garlic which they use. See *Dispenses de Carême*, par Hecquet. prem. par. chap. 38. *Géographie physique*, par Sauray. T. II. pag. 95. Lemery, the son, in the twenty-first chapter of his *Traité en Aliments*, and Beckrens, in the second section of *Selecta diatetica*, attribute it to their eating a great number of geese.

(11) *Traité sur la Santé, et l'Education Medicinale des Filles destinées au mariage*, par M. Venel. Yverdon, 1776.

(12) Mr. Vicat, author of a *Traité on the Plica Polonica*, assigns different causes for this malady, and among others dirtiness. For this reason the Jews in Poland are more subject to that disorder than other people of the lower class.

(13) *Traité sur la Longevité*. Mercurialis de Morbis Cutaneis, Cap. II. Aldrovandus de Quadrip. bisulcis. Vol. V. Gesner de sue Lib. I.

(14) *Hist. Natur.* Tome V. Varietes de l'espece humaine.

(15) Vandermonde, *Essai sur la maniere de perfectionner l'espece humaine*. Paris, 1756 T. I. premiere partie.

(16) *Système Physique et moral de la sem*, par M. Roussel.

# C H A P. VIII.

(1) *ESSAY on the Difference in the Number of Mankind*, by Wallace. London, 1754.

(2) Michaelis.

(3) Simcon Luzzati. *Discorso circa il stato de gli Hebrei*. c. 13. Lancelot Addison's present State of the Jews.

(4) *Sur Moses Mendelssohn sur la réforme des Juifs*, par M. de Mirabeau.

(5) Schadt. *Memorabilia Judaica*.

(6) Bafnage. *Hist. des Juifs*, Liv. ix. chap. 38.

(7) Mr. de Turkheim l'Ammeître. I consider it as my duty to embrace this opportunity of testifying my gratitude towards him and

[ 256 ]

and other friends, who have greatly assisted me by their reflections, and encouraged me by their approbation. One of them, abandoned to a wandering life at present, dissipates his sorrow by walking about, in I know not what corner of the earth. If ever this work should happen to fall into his hands, he will learn that I forget his wrongs to weep over his misfortunes.

(8) The author of *Historical Essays on the Jews*, Lyons, 1771, Vol. I. chap. 18. after speaking of the Jews of Comtat, says, that in France we have none, but at Bourdeaux, Metz, and Strasbourg.

How many errors, in a few words, in a work otherwise respectable! The author is then ignorant that there are Jews at Paris, Lyons, Rouen, Bayonne, Dieppe, Nancy, Lunneville, Boulay, &c. Alsace swarms with them; their multiplication there is really alarming; for in that country there are no causes as elsewhere to check their population; but they cannot even sleep at Strasbourg. There is only one place where they can enjoy that privilege, viz. the Hotel of Cerf-Berr, the proprietors of which being very rich, obtained this favor from the court. The Jews have been several times ill treated at Strasbourg. Being accused in 1349, of having poisoned the wells, two hundred of them were burnt. Hence the street *Brand-gasse*, or the *Burnt-street* had its name, because it was the place of execution. The history of the Jews of Strasbourg presents us with some interesting anecdotes, which were unknown to Basnage; such among others, is the daily custom of sounding a horn on the belfry of the cathedral at eight in the evening, and at midnight, in remembrance, says a tradition, which, however, some have contradicted, of an attempt made by the Jews to betray the city.

(9) Fischer *Dissertatio inauguralis de Statu et Jurisdictione Judæorum Argentoratii*, 1763.

(10) See *Les Recherches sur la Population*, par M. Moheau.

(11) A note communicated by my learned friend Mr. Saucerotte, of the Academy of Surgery.

(12) See *Les Ceremonies et Coutumes des Juifs*, par Leon de Modene. Lemnius de occultis Naturæ Miraculis, Lib. I. cap. 9. Mauriceau, *Maladies des Femmes grosses*, Liv. I. chap. 1. M. de Lignac

[ 257 ]

Lignac, *De l'homme et de la femme considérés physiquement dans le Mariage*.

(13) *Spirit of Laws*, B. XXIII. chap. 13.

(14) They purchase debts, and are even the proprietors of ships; but notwithstanding their avidity for gain, they never go to sea, or enter on board privateers. I never even heard that any of them disguised themselves to join the Buccaneers. In general the Jews are not fond of a sea-faring life, from a dread, no doubt, of being obliged to labor on the sabbath day; their ancestors certainly had not the same scruples when they cruised from Aziongaber to Ophir; for though we do not know the exact position of the latter, it appears that the passage was very long. Boulanger confirms what I have advanced respecting their aversion to navigation. *Antiquité dévoilée*, T. III. Liv. 3. chap. 3.

(15) See his work entitled the year 2449.

(16) In Germany, above all, where they are so numerous, and still more in Poland, where the great employ them to torment their serfs, they discharge the office of furics. Mr. Cox, in his *Travels*, reckons, that there are six hundred thousand of them in that kingdom. The provinces alone, united to the Austrian states, contained one hundred and forty-four thousand two hundred, when they were numbered. This is about an eighteenth part in two millions, five hundred and eighty thousand, seven hundred and ninety-six thousand inhabitants.

#### CHAP. IX.

(1) *TRACTATUS Juris Germanici de Judæorum in Hassia præcipuè Darmstadtina Juribus atque Obligationibus*, by Gatzert. Gießen. 1771.

(2) *Political Institutions by Baron Bichfelds*.

#### CHAP. X.

(1) SEE M. Dohm *Lieber bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, &c.

(2) Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*. Chap. 19.

(3) Those



[ 258 ]

(3) Those who despise the precepts of the Rabbis, will undergo a very strange punishment, *dammantur in fercere bullenti*,\* and in this world the *Keren* may be thundered forth against them, that is to say, the greater excommunication, which has an effect even upon dogs, and enters into the body by two hundred and forty-eight parts. People then are too happy to have recourse to those whom they have injured, in order to be freed from this sentence; for a Rabbi can not only absolve others, but also excommunicate and absolve himself.

(4) De l'Orgueil National, par M. Zimmermann.

(5) Maimonides de l'Idol, chap. 5, 6, and 10.

(6) Here I speak after Bafnage, who ascribes this sentence to Solomon Jarchi, whilst he quotes in a note, the History of the Jews, by Solomon Ben Virga. I could not procure those two authors to verify this quotation, and to know to whom the honor of this fine decision ought to be given.

(7) Antiquite dévoilée, T. II. Liv. 4. chap. 3.

(8) Bafnage, Liv. IV. ch. 18. Reader, you shudder! But, tell me, is the madness of duelling among us any other thing than this principle reduced to practice? Many military gentlemen, indeed, abhor a custom which makes them contemptible in the eye of religion and of reason; and the time will undoubtedly come, when, with one accord, they will renounce a brutality which must cause a wiser posterity to blush for the conduct of anterior ages.

(9) Bafnage.

(10) The clergyman of St. Sulpice, having also refused baptism to this Jew, the latter drew up a memorial, in order to have a consultation upon it, and the result was, that this refusal was brought before the Parliament, all the chambers being assembled. The memorial was printed for Paul Dumenil, in the street de la Vieille-Draperie, 1752.

(11) See John Christ. Wolf's preface, prefixed to *Notitia Cornetum*, by Mardocheus, page 12 and 13.

(12) Reflections on the History of the Jews, Vol. II. p. 51 and 52.

\* They will be scalded in boiling dung.

(13) Postel

[ 259 ]

(13) Postel in Alphabeto, 12. Ling. Druſui, p. 296.

(14) This fact was communicated to me by Mr. Enſheim, a learned German Jew, and a disciple of Mendelſohn.

*Nota.* The fear of calumniating obliges me to say, that in bringing forward these heavy charges, I have quoted some Jewish works only from translations, the fidelity of which I will not warrant. Mr. Bing, a learned Jew of Metz, and my intimate friend, pretends, that these decisions, worthy of an inhabitant of Bedlam, are not to be found in the works of the Rabbis, but in obscure tracts, or rather, are not to be found any where. He accuses our authors of contempt, and would almost pardon their ignorance, to attack their honesty. I know that by extracting separate phrases, and mutilating passages, the meaning of writers is sometimes perverted, and consequences are ascribed to them which they would disavow, though they may be agreeable to their principles. Out of regard to the Jews, I with Mr. Bing may be in the right, and I beg this writer to examine my assertions. Discussions on opposite sides will produce truth.

*De nos cailloux frottés, il sort des étincelles.* VOLT.

Even though all the crimes imputed to the Jews should be true, when we examine them thoroughly, they will appear less culpable than the nations by whom they have been compelled to commit them.

## CH A P. XI.

(1) WASSEBOURG, Antiquités de la Gaule Belg. L. VII. f. 480 and 481. The following proverb has long been known in Germany, *Happy is that city in which there is neither an Abraham, a Nimrod, nor a Naaman*; that is to say, in which there is neither a Jew, a tyrant, nor a leper.

(2) A Jew who was hung for filing guineas, called that a love of the belles lettres.

(3) Hist. des Rits et Coutumes des Juifs, par Leon de Modene.

(4) Non faxheraberis fratri tuo ad usuram, pecuniam, nec froges nec quamlibet aliam rem, sed alieno, &c. Deuterono. Ch. XXIII. v. 19 et 20.

(5) Tostat 3. reg. quæst. 5.

82

(6) Pocock's

- (6) Pocock's *Travels*.  
(7) *Affiches de Metz*, 1784, No. 9.  
(8) Forgive me, my dear Bing, like Mendelssohn, it is by your virtues that you wish to apologize for your nation. I am sensible that this picture will agitate your whole soul. I wrote it in Alsace, at the time when the events in question happened; it is, perhaps, a little heightened; but my heart bled at the moment, and I wrote under the impulse of feeling.  
The work entitled *The Observations of an Inhabitant of Alsace on the present Affair of the Jews in that Country*, is well known. The truth of the charges which the author alleges have been contested, and for my part, I would not imitate him in reproaching the present race of Jews with the death of our Saviour. But has it been proved that his assertions are all false?  
(9) Boulainvilliers, *Etat de la France*, T. I.

C H A P. XII.

- (1) SEE *Le Glossaire de la basse Latinité*, par Du Cange, on the word *causini*. Matthew Paris *Hist. D'Angleterre*. Velly, *Histoire de France*. Reign of Louis IX. Vol. VI. p. 58.  
(2) Fischer. *Hist. du Commerce d'Allemagne*. Halle, 1785.  
(3) Others very improperly ascribe the invention of maritime insurance to the Lombards.  
(4) La Guilletiere, in his ancient and modern Lacedemon, assures us, that all the Levant trade passes through the hands of the Jews. Tournefort, in his *Travels*, tells us the same thing; but he evidently contradicts himself, since he says a little before, that the Armenians are masters of all the commerce of the East. The same author extols their honesty, their frugality, &c. whilst Gmelin\* describes these Armenians as the greatest villains on the earth, and capable of selling their fathers, did they think of gaining by such a measure. After this, I may ask what confidence is there to be reposed in authors?—The only thing on which they all agree is, the deception and dishonesty of the Jews.  
(5) See note 4, chap. 23.

\* *Histoires des Deceuvettes faites par divers voyageurs.*

(6) The

- (6) The Jews are forbidden by the sage, says the Rabbi Beccaf, to lend money to the Christians, lest the latter seduce them, and make them quit Judaism; but a Jew may borrow of a Christian, without fearing seduction, because, adds he, a debtor always shuns the company of his creditor.  
(7) Yes, and extremely fertile. Even the most incredulous dare not raise any doubts on that head, after the excellent dissertations of the Abbé Guénée.  
(8) It is for this reason that Damhouderus, in his *Locis communibus admodum*. 9. pretends, that the Christians may exercise usury upon the Turks, as they unjustly retain what they have taken from us. With such arguments one may go very far.  
(9) Hugues in *Psal.* 14.  
(10) See Chap. I.

C H A P. XIII.

- (1) IN *Relation de Alemanie*, at Papam Gregorium, apud Raynald. *Annales ecclésiast.* ad. an. 1273, No. 18. De Banno Judæorum, secundum leges Mœno-franco furtenles, quo res amissæ vel furto ablata restituito pretio recuperantur.  
(2) *Tractatus Juris Germanici de Judæorum in Hassia, &c. by Gatzert.* Gissæ, 1771.  
(3) At Metz it is twelve per cent.  
(4) *Concil. Lateran.* 4. an. 1215, ch. LXIII. *Concil. Biterrense*, anni 1246, ch. XXXVII. &c.  
(5) *Concilium Albiense*, an. 1254, chap. LXIII. *Concil. Montispel.* an. 1248, chap. V. &c.  
(6) *Stabilimentum apud Melend.* D'Acherii *Spicileg.* T. VI.  
(7) *Concilium Frising.* anno 1449, chap. XXI. *Vita Pauli quarti*, an. 1555.  
(8) Martene. *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, U. I. p. 1212. *Stabilimentum Judæorum factum Parisiis*, &c.  
(9) *Tractatus Juris Germanici de Judæorum in Hassia, &c.* p. 35 et 37.  
(10) *Ibid.*  
(11) *Concilium Parisiense quint.* an. 625, ch. XV. *Edict. Clotarii II. Regis in supra Synodo Concil.* T. V.

S 3

CHAP.



CHAP. XIV.

(1) IN 1643, when Louis gave a declaration for establishing *Ments de Pitié*, his intention was to annihilate usury.

(2) *Ceance* in the original, signifies both the sum due and the written security, which gives the creditor a right to sue the debtor. When I employ this term, it is always in the latter sense.

CHAP. XV.

(1) SEE the critical work of Mr. Dohm *Beurtheilung über die bürgerliche, &c.*

(2) A Jew no longer marries his brother's widow, but, according to ancient usage, the widow, in the presence of witnesses, pulls off her brother-in-law's shoes, spits before him, &c. saying, *thus shall he be treated who will not raise up posterity to his brother in Israel*. The parliament of Bourdeaux passed an edict commanding this ceremony.

(3) The reader will, doubtless, be glad to see an abridgement of the Jewish confession of faith, such as it is drawn out by Maimonides. It contains thirteen articles.

1. I sincerely believe that God created and governs the world.
2. I believe that there is only one.
3. That he is immaterial.
4. That he is the first and the last. Before him nothing existed. He will survive all beings.
5. We ought to worship him alone.
6. All that the Prophets announced and taught is true.
7. The doctrine of Moses is true. He is the chief of all the sages, whether prior, contemporary, or posterior.
8. God gave the law to Moses such as we have it.
9. This law is invariable. God will not substitute another for it.
10. He knows the heart, the thoughts, and the actions of men.
11. He will reward the good, and punish the wicked.
12. The Messiah will come, and I shall always hope for his appearance, though it may be late.

13. The

13. The dead shall arise at the time marked out in the decrees of God, whose name be blessed and praised for ever and ever. Amen.

We see by the twelfth article that the future coming of the Messiah is among the number of the Jewish dogmas. Joseph Albo, a Spanish Rabbi, censured Maimonides, and pretended that this belief was not necessary to salvation. He maintained this thesis, as we are told, to strengthen the faith of the Jews, which was shaken by the famous conference of Tortosa in 1412, where Jerome de Sainte-Foi proved so clearly the divinity of Jesus Christ, that four or five thousand of them were converted. I find even at present, that many Jews complain that Maimonides has multiplied their dogmas too much.

(4) See in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, a relation of Father Gozani, in which he speaks of the Jews of the province of Honan.

(5) See Porter's Dissertation on the Mahometan Religion, prefixed to Du Ryer's Translation of the *Alcoran*.

(6) They are called Marannes. The author of notes on *Orlando Furioso*, page second, says, that they are neither Jews nor Christians; but this is false: they are Jews in secret. If we believe La Croze, in his *History of Christianity in Ethiopia*, and Basnage, in his *History of the Jews*, Spain abounds with them, and they even swarm in all the convents. By the best accounts which I could procure from that country, it appears, that at the time when these authors wrote, the Marannes were few in number, and that at present there are scarcely any; and when the author of a work entitled *London*, Vol. II. p. 280, tells us, that from the year 1720 to 1740, more than 20,000 Jews emigrated from Spain and Portugal to England, we must suppress two ciphers, and perhaps three.

(7) An observation communicated by Mr. Bing.

(8) I engage soon to give a treatise long since projected on clerical education; and if I do not succeed, I shall at least open the way, and incite others to produce something better.

(9) See the supplement to Leo de Modena's Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, by Richard Simon.

S 4

CHAP.

[ 264 ]

C H A P. XVI.

(1) BOULANGER. Antiquité dévoilée.  
(2) Toland insists much upon this reason in his treatise on the *Naturalisation of the Jews in England*. In that small work, he gives three principal motives for naturalising them. First, neither the Episcopalians nor the Presbyterians need apprehend that the Jews will strengthen the party of their enemies by uniting with them; they equally detest both, and would be greatly interested to preserve liberty of conscience. Secondly, their address and indefatigable ardor in trade, gives us reason to believe, that they would be of the greatest service to the arts and the sciences. The third motive is that which we have mentioned in the text of this chapter.

C H A P. XVII.

(1) BARON Bielsfeld's Political Institutions.  
(2) Voyage de Tournefort, Vol. I. and III.  
(3) Present State of the Empire of Morocco, pag. 83 and 105. Bafnage. Book IX. Chap. 29.  
(4) Mœurs des Israélites.  
(5) Perigrinatio Rabbi Petachias.  
(6) Benjamin, Itinerarium, traduit par Baratier.  
(7) Hist. des Decouvertes faites par divers savans Voyageurs, &c.  
(8) Travels through Poland, Russia, &c. by Coxce.  
(9) Vie du Cardinal Commendon, par Gratiani.  
(10) Many historians say eight hundred thousand. The reader is requested to suspend his judgement, as we shall prove in another place, that this calculation is exaggerated. The expulsion of the Jews from Spain, under Ferdinand II. and that of the Calvinists from France, under Louis XIV. the motives that occasioned these revolutions, and the effects thence resulting, might form the object of a comparison, which would exhibit a very curious picture.  
(11) Wheeler says, that in Turkey, the Jews prepare the best wine, because their law forbids them to make any mixture.

See

[ 265 ]

See Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant, par G. Wheeler. Amst. 1689. T. I. pag. 169 et 170.

(12) Customs and Ceremonies of the Jews, by Leo de Modena.

C H A P. XVIII.

(1) MR. Du Hamel, of Metz, in a learned Memoir which has not yet appeared.

(2) Procop. Bell. Goth. Book I. chap. 8.

(3) This service procured them liberty to erect a synagogue at Prague.

(4) Commodore Chambers, and Dom Solomon, son of Jechah, both a philosopher and a warrior, raised by the King of Portugal to the rank of Camp-Master-General, which is the first military dignity, commanded the army with success.

In Ethiopia, there is a mountain peopled with Jews, who are very numerous. In the sixteenth century, they signalled themselves by their warlike actions against the Moors.

(5) The Emperor Ferdinand III. granted them extensive privileges, because they had greatly contributed to the defence of Prague, when that city was besieged by the Swedes in 1648. Their valour was also of great use to the Turks, when Buda was attacked by the Imperialists. This circumstance rendered them odious in Germany and Italy. Let us remark with Bafnage, that they were the Sultan's subjects, consequently their conduct was an act of fidelity to their Sovereign.

(6) In 418, the law of Honorius, however, permitted the Jews actually enlisted in his army, to remain there. He enacts, that his new ordinance shall afford no cause for any reproach; preserves their eligibility to civil employments, and the right of exercising the profession of advocate. See *The Theodosian Code*. Book XXXIV. de Judæis.

C H A P. XIX.

(1) JUSTI Lipii Politicorum, Lib. IV, chap. 2, note 12, Edition, of Stralsburgh 1741.

(2) Decretali. Greg. IX. Lib. V. tit. 6. chap. 9.

(3) To



[ 266 ]

(3) To pity those who go astray, to pray for them, to love them, to serve them, and to sympathize with them, as with a brother, in order to gain them over to virtue and truth, are very catholic texts, which speak forcibly to every heart. A priest congratulates himself in discharging as far as he can, so agreeable a duty: After this, should I expect to find people offended at my intimate connection with Protestants, Quakers, Jews, &c? According to the scripture, we ought to treat the weak with tenderness; but ought we to behave so towards the foolish and the wicked? Ye who are sick of the jaundice, will ye always see every thing yellow? As you are five or six hundred years behind your contemporaries, I shall give you an answer some day in my epistle to the people of the twelfth century. I shall speak there of men who were superior in worth both to you and to me; of the intimacy of Bossuet with Bullus, Claude with Burnet, Erasmus with the pretended reformers, of St. Basile with a Jewish physician, and of St. Jerome, obliged to justify himself respecting his familiarity with the Hebrews, and replying with as much reason as vehemence, to make an eulogium on his master Barabarus, &c. &c. &c.

C H A P. XX.

(1) JOURNAL de Luxembourg, Septembre 1784, pag. 141.

C H A P. XXI.

- (1) POLITICAL Institutions by Baron Bichfield, second part.
- (2) Spectator, Vol. V.
- (3) See on this subject a speech by Mr. Lacroix, the son, Brussels, 1775, in favour of two Jews, who had taken up brevets for the company of Merchants of Thionville. This piece, written with warmth, displays deep thought and sensibility of heart.
- (4) The old proverb which says *grasp all lose all*, will be always new. The insatiable avarice of the Jews has occasioned the decline of manufactures in Poland, that country blessed by nature, says Mr. Caron. Voyages en Pologne. Leipzig, 1784.

CHAP.

[ 267 ]

C H A P. XXII.

(1) PEYRERA has always had for this people a predilection, which we ought to ascribe rather to the whimsicalness of his head, than to the goodness of his heart. At the end of his treatise on the Presbyterians, we find a letter addressed to all the synagogues, in which he announces their speedy conversion to Christianity, and their return to Jerusalem, which they will rebuild as well as their temple. The reader, perhaps, will not be displeased to see a specimen of this letter. I have thought proper not to translate the Latin text, which is singularly curious. "Salutem vestram vobis precatur, nescio quis, atque utinam ex vobis unus! Hoc mihi cum vobis commune est, quod vitam duco erraticam, quæque parum convenit cum otio meditantis et scribentis; at si vivo vitam vestram, moriar vitam vestram, et moriar morte iustorum, quæ vestra est. Vos autem sospitet Deus: vivite felices in spe vestra, quæ fortitudo vestra est; durate et voimet rebus secundis servate." In his treatise on the Recall of the Jews, a work now become scarce, Peyrera displays the same ideas: God will raise up a temporal king, as illustrious by his justice as his victories; and this king will be that of France. The author's proofs are convincing. First, the two qualities of Most Christian, and youngest son of the church, are ascribed to him by way of excellence. Secondly, if the Sovereigns of France have the virtue of curing the king's evil, which afflicts the bodies of the Jews, much more have they the power of curing the inveterate maladies of their souls. Thirdly, the kings of France have for their arms *fleurs de lys*, and the beauty of the church is compared in scripture to that of the lily. Fourthly, France probably will be the place where the Jews will be first invited to become Christians, &c. &c. *Utinam!*

(2) Dissertatio juridica de Causa judæorum Tolerantia, by Boehmer. Hal. Magd. 1735.

(3) Avis aux Messins, sur leur Santé. Par M. du Tenetier.

(4) Mr. Emmery.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXIII.

- (1) VUES d'un Politique du seizieme Siècle, tirées du Recueil de Raoul Spifame. Par M. Auffray, de l'Academie de Metz.  
(2) See Cause Celebres, par M. des Effarts T. LXIV. Paris, 1780. Cause 171.

(3) See Addison's Treatise on the Christian Religion, translated into French by Mr. de Correvon, with Dissertations, &c. Vol. III. page 85, et Sequen. as also Scipionis Massæ Epistola in qua tres eximia ac nunquam vulgare Inscriptiones exhibentur. Veronæ, 1779.

(4) It excites curiosity, indignation and grief, to see, in different places, all the presents which the Jews, especially on the commencement of the new year, make to people in place, or to their subalterns, in order to purchase a dishonourable protection. This tribute, paid by weakness to strength, is considered as an annual debt. Where shall unhappy people, already loaded with taxes, people whose arms are tied, and their means of acquiring wealth so limited, find enough to answer all these demands? In his dismal garret, the poor Israelite, stifling the sighs of his oppressed heart, and yet condemned to live, may invoke the aid of death with more sincerity than the fatigued wood-cutter. Generally sober, he pinches himself with resignation, and being for the most part a good father, he retrenches from his children, but with great pain, a few mouthfulls of their pitiful allowance, adds a few patches more to their torn garments, and saves a few wretched halfpence, to satiate the avidity of harpies who would devour even his very table.

In one of our cities in France, a Jew being caught exercising a trade, he was dragged before the judge. "I have six children," said he, "stretched out amidst filth, and dying of cold and hunger; my brother is about to be hanged for a theft, committed through despair: I beg that I may share his punishment before I become guilty."

Let us never cease to repeat, It is we—we ourselves who have forced the Jews to become worthless, and if we ought to be surprized at any thing, it is that they are not worse. Our ancestors

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sacrificed the laws of Nature to the gratification of their vengeance. When shall we discharge their debts and our own? Is it by perpetuating the misfortunes of the Jews that we acquire a title to the benedictions of posterity? When shall we restore the rights of humanity to those people, insulted by our prejudice, considered, by hatred, as intermediate beings between us and the brutes, deprived of rank in society, seeing nothing around them but contempt, and every where dragging along with them chains bathed in tears?

C H A P. XXIV.

- (1) CONCIL. Parisiens. 5 chap. xv.

(2) Miguel de Barrios. Hist. Univerf. Judaic.

(3) We are assured that in Provence and in Spain there are a great many new nobility of Jewish extraction. Did this extraction prevent a L'Hopital from being of a very illustrious family, and Ozanam a good mathematician? If the antiquity of a family, when proved, constitutes nobility, the Jews of Rome might aspire to that prerogative, and take precedence of the greatest people in Europe. It appears that they are descended from the most ancient Roman families. Their Ghetto\* is still the same as in the time of Juvenal.

- (4) Collet. Traite des Dispenses. T. I. Liv. II. chap. 6.

(5) At Padua the Jews are admitted to the degree of Doctor of Physic. Some of the German universities have begun to grant them the same favor.

(6) Della Influenza, del Ghetto, nel stato, &c. By Cotat D'Arco. Venice, 1782.

- (7) Dom. Mangérard.

C H A P. XXV.

(1) THIS Benjamin de Tudela has thought proper also to create countries. The following are specimens of his travels respecting those countries which he traversed. Under the Caliph Omar, the

\* The street where the Jews live at Rome.

100



[ 270 ]

son of Abdallah, who reigned only ten years and a half, the Mss. hometans took thirty-six thousand towns or castles. It was this same Omar who built a mosque of the remains of the ark found at the foot of Mount Ararat. Benjamin saw at Alexandria Aristotle's academy, which was a most superb building, for people came from every quarter of the globe to hear that philosopher. The subterranean passage, which is found on leaving Pouffolo in Italy, was dug by Romulus, who was afraid of being pursued by David and Joab. I think I have read, in the same author, that the Turks are destitute of noses, and have only two holes in the face. Benjamin thus explains the origin of pearls: they are formed by the rain which falls on the 24th of March. The Persians collect this rain on the *superficies of the water*, and after enclosing it in small vases, they cast it into the bottom of the sea, where it remains till September; skilful fishers then go in search of these vessels, in which they find certain reptiles, and when these are dissected, they take the pearls from their bodies. See *Benjamin's Travels*, translated by Mr. Barattier.—Is it possible to believe that this ridiculous notion, respecting the formation of pearls, was formerly adopted by several writers? We find it related, but not quite so absurdly, in the works of a man whose writings cannot be too much read and admired. *Traité de l'amour de Dieu par S. François de Sales*, Edition du P. Fellon, de Nancy. B. III. ch. 2, and B. IV. ch. 6. This author says, after the naturalists, that drops of dew fall in the spring time, which dispersing themselves over the surface of the sea, the pearl shells open, and receiving these drops, convert them into pearls.

(2) Joseph Ben Gorion, or Gorionides, has written a history of his nation in Hebrew, and this nonsense has rendered the works of Josephus, written in Greek, of no credit among the Jews. This Rabbi, of the tenth century, pretends to have lived at the time when Jerusalem was besieged; and he speaks of *Amboise* and *Chinon*, two cities which did not exist before the sixth century of our æra. If we believe him, Alexander had one eye black, another blue, and very sharp teeth. Armenia and Chorazan, two provinces bordering on Macedonia, having revolted, Philip sent Alexander to reduce them; but during that time, one Cabronius, King of Bretagne, came and took the city of Macedonia. Alexander being in Asia,

[ 271 ]

Asia, found there trees which sprung from the earth at sun-rise, and which afterwards entered it, cocks that vomited forth fire, birds which spoke Greek, and men without heads. See *Joseph Ben Gorion*, translated by Gagnier.

(3) See the Rabbinical Bibliothéque of Bortolucci, in four volumes folio.

(4) The Jews, however, have had many other great men. First, a Rabbi, who always returned forty-eight answers to every question, as if one good answer had not been sufficient. Secondly, Abba Saül, who, burying the dead, found Abialom's eye, in which he concealed all his body, except the nose. Thirdly, the Rabbi Eliezer. Though the firmament were converted into velum, and the waters of the sea changed into ink, all this would not be sufficient to write what he knew, for he had formed three hundred precepts respecting the method of sowing cucumbers. This Eliezer possessed a thousand cities, and in one of these cities there were an hundred and eighty thousand markets, destined for the sale of a certain kind of confectio. Bafnage informs us that we must not take this hyperbole in a literal sense, as nothing else is meant by it than to signify a very rich man. Fourthly, the Rabbi Acher, who was not damned, though he blasphemed against the angel Metatron; for, imagining that God alone had a right to sit down in heaven, he could not comprehend why this angel had a stool there, which made him believe that there were two principles. Fifthly, Judas the Holy, who was humility itself. Having learned that a woman was to spit in his face, by the order of her husband, he pretended to have a sore eye, and begged the woman to spit seven times on the diseased part. Sixthly, the Rabbi Chanania, who offered to remove all the doubts raised by the prophecies of Ezekiel; this was agreed to, and three hundred tons of oil were given him, to afford him light whilst employed in his learned lucubrations. Seventhly, another Rabbi, whose name I am sorry to have forgot, for he was so cunning that he outwitted both God and the devil. Having begged Satan to carry him to heaven, in order that he might see the glory of the saints and die in peace, the devil consented to gratify him. As soon as the Rabbi arrived, he saw the door of heaven open, and rushing in, swore that he would not go out again. God, who was unwilling to make him



[ 272 ]

him commit perjury, suffered him to remain, and the devil, as may be well imagined, departed, covered with confusion, &c. &c.

(5) *Principes in Europæ, medici fuerunt.* Friend. Hist. Medici, P. 288. Sixteen or seventeen centuries ago, the Hebrew practitioners were acquainted with the enlargement of the lower belly which facilitates the delivery of the fetus. See *Pineau Opuscula Phsyolog.* Amst. 1660, and the celebrated *Louis* in *Les Memoires de l'Academie de Chirurgie*, Vol. IV. pag. 64. Modern medicine infers, with honor, in its Annals Zacutus, Orobio, &c. to whom we may add Sanchez, who was a Jew by extraction—The Rabbis have sometimes attempted to invade the province of medicine, and to dogmatise on that science. The following aphorism of some of their doctors is wonderful; a little wine and a crust of bread taken fasting will preserve the livers of sixty-three patients. *A view of Diseases* by Lommius secured him universal approbation; yet, when he says that to dream one has a comb like a cock is the sign of a plethora, people are almost tempted to laugh; but how can we contain ourselves when the Rabbis draw a favorable omen from dreaming that one has a dislocated jaw, which is a sign that nothing is to be feared from cæmies? To go every morning to stool may be an useful habit. Lock, in his treatise on the Education of Children, establishes this as a dietetic rule; but the Jews convert it into a legal precept. Next come their doctors, who prescribe for this operation a ceremonial worthy of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Troyes*. They assure us that the soul contracts a fetid smell by the excrements too long retained.

(6) See *Pleadings* by Mr. Lacratelle, the Son.

(7) *Letters or Reflections of a Nobleman, &c.* London, 1767. As we always wish to make quotations in favor of the Jews, let us recollect that we are indebted to those of Soncino for many excellent editions of Hebrew works, which may stand a comparison with those of Bomberg. I have seen an enthusiast, a second Hardouin, give the Jews the honor of establishing posts, because Ahazuerus sent couriers throughout his whole empire to stop the execution of an edict which Esther had prevailed on him to revoke. Le Quien, who, in his treatise on the Origin of Posts, mentions this fact, exaggerates no less the consequences, in order to extol the Jews at the expense of Louis XI. Some also ascribe to them

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[ 273 ]

the art of teaching the dumb to speak. It is true that a Jew distinguished himself, about fifteen years ago, in this attempt, for which Haman paved the way. All of them, however, have been eclipsed by the Abbé De l'Epée.

(8) *Wagenheil Tela ignea Satanæ.* V. I. Several Jewish doctors have caused their sermons to be printed. They generally preach two every year in each synagogue.

(9) *Mlle de Montpensier* (Vol. VI. page 323) says that the queen being at Metz, she made the Jews dance in their synagogue. It appears, however, as inconsistent with the dignity of a queen to require this, as with the religious principles of the Jews to obey. They may have celebrated indeed, by their songs, &c. the arrival of their sovereign at Metz, and her entrance into the synagogue. The whole may have been seasoned with those absurd grimaces which every body knows, which Dom Ruinart describes in so lively a manner, and which originated among the Polish Jews. *Mlle Montpensier*, no doubt, calls this noise dancing.

(10) The Tephilim are pieces of parchment upon which are written some passage of the law, and by means of leather thongs, they are fastened to the foreheads or left arm of those who pray. They are so sacred that God wears them on his head and arms, like the Jews.

(11) In the Talmud *Trat: Sotach.* chap. 1.

(12) To wash the hands one must have as much water as six eggs can contain: another, as far as is permitted, ought to pour it out; a child or a fool may do it, but can an ape? Here the doctors are as much divided as upon this question—Whether a house purified with old leaven ought to be purified again, when a mouse has been seen to pass through it with a crust of bread? A vessel, in the lid of which there is a mirror, is unclean: a purse is unclean when the strings of it are broken, as well as a shoe, the strap of which is unfewed, or torn.

(13) One must appear sad, on getting out of bed on account of the ruin of the temple, but one must appear merry on the Sabbath Day, because God then sends one soul more to every Jew, in order to banish melancholy. When one begins a certain prayer on Friday evening, souls quit purgatory to search for water in which they may refresh themselves. Fawns are imperfect beings, which God,

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[ 274 ]

surprized by the arrival of the Sabbath, had not time to finish. One must not shave a little time before the commencement of the Sabbath, for if any accident should happen to the razor, one would let slip the proper season of prayer. On that day people ought not to pare their nails, unless they have a split nail, nor look at their image in a mirror, for a woman, curious in her dress, might see a hair deranged, and be tempted to put it in its proper place. One may scrape the dirt from ones shoes against a wall, but not against the earth, lest it should appear as if one were filling up a ditch. Whoever has his hands dirty may wipe them with the tail of a horse or a cow, but not with a clean towel, lest the necessity of washing it should make people break the Sabbath. It is not lawful on that day to write on a wet table or on ashes, but one may write in the air. The ancient doctors agitated this question—Whether it was allowable on the Sabbath Day to kill a scorpion when peaceable in its hole, or in the highway: *Adhuc sub Judice lis est*. Sebastian Munster somewhere relates that a Jew having fallen into a privy, the rest would not extricate him on that day because it was the Sabbath, and the Christians would not relieve him the next, because it was Sunday. Whilst Moses was on Mount Sinai, to receive the law, if a cow had approached the mountain she would have incurred capital punishment; but how many judges were necessary to pronounce the sentence? Twenty-three or seventy-two? This abstruse question, proposed in the Talmud, is not yet decided.

The reveries of the Jews concerning the root Baaras, which is of the color of fire, are well known. This root destroys those who touch it. To pluck it up, they dig the ground around, and tie a dog to it, which immediately burles. On the Behemoth, which every day eats the grafs of a thousand mountains. On the fish Leviathan, which at one gulp swallows down another fish, which is only three hundred leagues in length. On the bird Barchuchst, which covers the sun with its wings when they are displayed. An addle egg having dropped from its nest, crushed three hundred large cedars, and overwhelmed sixty cities. On a frog as large as a village of sixty houses; a serpent devoured it, and this serpent was eaten by a crow, that afterwards went and perched on a tree. The reader is left to judge of the respective size of

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[ 275 ]

of the serpent, the crow, and the tree. This fact is incontestible, for the Rabbi Papa saw the tree. On another doctor, who, going to bathe, heard a celestial voice, which pronounced the following words: "Do not bathe there, that gulph is so deep, that a hatchet which fell into it seven years ago, has not yet reached the bottom."

What have they not said of God, who dances with Eve, converses with the moon, and asks her pardon for having made her subordinate to the sun; who formerly amused himself with creating worlds, and who, become more skilful by repeated trials, was at length able to form ours? When he created the universe, he left towards the North an opening which cannot be shut, and he consoled himself for this, by saying, that if any one should be so audacious as attempt to pass to him, he would oblige him to close up that hole. God no longer possesses on the earth but four cubits extent of ground, on which he sits to read the Talmud. Cæsar one day being desirous to see the deity, the Rabbi Joshua begged God to appear, and the Eternal yielding to his request, retired to the distance of four hundred leagues from Rome, where he roared, and the noise of this roaring caused the walls of a city to tumble down, and several women to miscarry. God having approached an hundred leagues nearer, roared again, upon which Cæsar, struck with terror, fell from his throne, and all the Romans lost their grinders.

Adam was of such an enormous stature, that he touched the firmament. This ridiculous assertion has given birth to a truth, says the author of *The History of Mankind*, who considers it in a moral point of view; but some writers have seriously maintained, that the stature of the first men was proportioned to the duration of their lives. Mr. Henrion, of the *Academy of Inscriptions*, after having established the respective stature of males and females, as being in the proportion of twenty-five to twenty-four, assigns to Adam an hundred and twenty-three feet of height, and to Eve an hundred and eighteen. He reduces Noah to an hundred and three, Abraham to twenty-seven, &c. &c. However, according to the testimony of a certain Rabbi, Og king of Bashan had still the bone of his thigh so long, that a stag pursued by hunters, employed half a day to run along it. This same Og

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[ 276 ]

having cut up by the roots a mountain of three leagues in extent, placed it upon his head, in order that he might throw it upon the camp of the Israelites; but God sent a worm, which made a vertical hole in it, so that it fell upon the king's shoulders, and served him as a collar. Before Abraham, people were not acquainted with old age; but that patriarch begged it of God, and introduced it into the world. When he went into Egypt, he shut up his wife in a coffer, but she could not escape at the custom house, where every kind of merchandize was strictly examined. After the creation, God ordained that man should sneeze only once, and then die without any preceding disorder. Jacob, however, obtained an exemption from this law; he sneezed without dying, and this sign of death was changed into a sign of life: All princes were informed of it, and ordained that sneezing for the future should be accompanied with thanks. Moses for killing an Egyptian was condemned to death; but his neck became so hard, that the cimeter employed to put this sentence in force, broke to pieces, and rebounding killed the executioner. The devil having thought proper one day to go and knock down some apples in David's garden, the king heard the noise, and immediately descended by a ladder to seize the plunderer; but Satan (of a wicked race from father to son) pulled away the ladder, and David fell. Elias being oppressed with grief, because the people had abandoned circumcision, God in order to comfort him, promised that this misfortune should never more happen. For this reason, when that ceremony is performed, a chair is placed for the Prophet, who assists at it, in order that he may not be deceived, unless he foresees that the child will become a Christian. When people weep in the night time, the stars mingle their tears with theirs. The cocks crow in the morning, because they hear the gates of heaven opened. A Rabbi, incensed against his cock, flayed it, broke its bones, and put it into his kettle, where it began to crow again. Notwithstanding my respect for the Jewish doctors, I find it very difficult to believe all these pretty things. I might have considerably enlarged this note with abundance of absurd tales, which are so many insults offered to reason, and often even to the dignity of manners. See more of this subject in the *Misna*, translated

[ 277 ]

lated by Surenhusius, in Buxtorf, Bafnage, Bartolocci, Jacquelot, Bullet, *Paffim*, and in the learned work which Mr. Pafforet has just published, *Moses considered as a Legislator and a Moralist*.

One of the most celebrated writings among the Jews is the *Pirke Abot*, or *Sentences of the Rabbis*. We find there exquisite reflections, as for example: "By offering to God whatever you have you restore to him his own. He who does a good action acquires a protector. Prepare for death a day before your last hour. It is better to be the tail of a lion than the head of a fox; the last among the good than the first among the bad," &c. But these excepted, what a monstrous mixture of trivial maxims and absurd assertions do we find, especially in the fifth chapter! God created the world with ten words; he will therefore punish the wicked more severely than if he had created it with one. Ten prodigies displayed his power during the Egyptian captivity: First, no woman miscarried by the smell of the sacrifices. Secondly, a single fly was not seen in the places where the victims were slaughtered, &c. &c. God created ten things on the evening before the sabbath. The opening which swallowed up Coran, Dathan and Abiram; the wells that followed the Israelites in the wilderness; the mouth of Balaam's ass; Noah's ark; the sepulchre of Moses, &c.

Reader, you will be compensated for perusing these ridiculous fables, by the following extract, taken from the fifth chapter of the *Appreciation of the World*, written by the Rabbi Bedarchi, and translated by Mr. Bing.

"Source of corruption! Deceitful world! What can I hope from thy hand but vain splendor and fading gifts? Canst thou bestow durable and real blessings, thou who art the source of folly? Enough, and too long have I meditated on thy origin, imagining thee to be capable of rendering me happy, but I have found thy constitution whimsical and weak; I have seen ruin in all thy parts, and thy dismal end in thy formation. Convinced of thy insignificance, I have published thy shame. Shall I then go and still render thee homage? Shall thy perfidious beauty still enchant me? Canst thou give delight to my eyes, whilst my heart hath learned to despise thee? Who will attempt to draw a salu-

T 3



[ 278 ]

tery juice from a poisonous fruit? Who will seek honey in the carcass of a tyger?"

"Thou crownest vice and humblest virtue; thou gatherest around thee a vile and base populace; thou makest a sign to the wicked at a distance to approach thee, and thou turnest away from the man of worth who is close by thy side."

"It is by this that thou shewest thy treachery, by laying snares for thy own votaries, and it is by this that thou causest thyself to be abhorred, by driving kings from their thrones in order to raise up slaves in their stead. Foolish world, thou devoteest the house of the just to destruction; thy fury exhales a devouring flame on the majestic cedars of Lebanon, whilst it respects the humblest bush; thou effacest crimes, and throwest a mask over the outside of the most hideous objects, in order to veil the marks of their infamy."

"And to whom dost thou consider thyself as useful, base deceiver? Is it to those on whom thou bestowest thy caresses, in order to suck their blood? To those whom thou renderest weak, that they may sink down under thy blows? Dressed out like the Aurora, thou shinest for a moment in their eyes, but scarcely hast thou attracted their looks, when thou disappearest altogether."

"Thy splendor for a moment illuminates the head of thy favorites, and then it is converted into darkness: sometimes fortune appears chained to their triumphal car, and sometimes they are obliged to cover themselves with the rags which a footman has just quitted: to-day their radiant forehead appears to be the asylum of serenity, and to-morrow thy vengeance pursues and attacks them, while misery and death dispute for the prize."

"I compare thee, and I think I do thee honor, to a fickle strumpet, who lulls her slaves asleep in her arms, and lavishes her favors upon them; she then becomes capricious, her hatred bursts forth, and she no longer knows a brother or a lover."

"Time is changeable, his works are still more so, they hang by a hair, the least breath agitates them in every direction, and every moment brings vicissitudes. I have considered his magnificence, and I have seen only folly. I have considered him himself, and I have beheld serpents concealed under his feet."

"O Fate! thou causest me to bear thy yoke, but thou canst not deceive me; the more thou carestest me the more thou warrest me

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[ 279 ]

to shun thy snares: like the timid lamb, I suffer here below in silence; the remembrance of the past fills me with melancholy; the present gives me uneasiness, and I tremble for the future. I drag myself heavily along wherever thy imperious law conducts me; I obey it, though with reluctance, till my strength is exhausted and my blood dried up; then—I escape from thy power."

(14) *Système physique et moral de la Femme*, par M. Roussel.

(15) Women, among the Jews, cannot be school-mistresses, because they do not deserve that respect which people ought to entertain for their instructors. One must go often to see ones master, never quit his house, but, by retiring backwards, pull off ones stockings, and rend ones clothes when he is dead; but they would be ashamed to pay these honors to a woman; a woman ought to wash the hands, face and feet of her husband, pour out drink for him, &c. There are certain observances to which the women are not subjected, or at least less rigorously than the men; but this small advantage is sufficiently counter-balanced by their abject state, dependance, and the absurd and indecent rites which they are imperiously obliged to observe. The Rabbis have often gone beyond the mark, by perverting the sense of the Scripture, and carrying the observation of these ceremonies too far. It was not enough to cause women to employ the bath, &c. &c. A ring which has not been taken off, and which may have interrupted the contact of the water, is sufficient to invalidate the ceremony, and it must then be renewed. The Mosaic law very wisely restrained matrimonial cohabitation. Was it necessary that Rabbinical precepts should insult modesty, by ordering women to inspect themselves daily, to see whether they have not legal uncleanness, and, in case of doubt, to send the *kezeme*, or stained linen, to the Rabbi, who decides the question? This custom is very ancient. St. Jerome says, somewhere, that when the doctors cannot determine by the eye, they have recourse to another sense: this office is, without doubt, very respectable, since David discharged it, according to the Talmud. A princess, wishing to try the skill of a Rabbi who was reputed to be very expert in this way, sent him seventy *kezemes*, tinged with as many kinds of blood; but being unwilling, through decency, to say what we are going to write, that one of them was tinged with the blood of lice, he sent her a golden comb—an emblem

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[ 280 ]

blem which displayed his capacity, and the prince's could not help admiring talents so rare and so useful to humanity.

We shall conclude this note with the following anecdote. God being desirous of creating woman, did every thing that he could, but in vain, to make her good. He was unwilling to form her from the head of the man, lest she should become a coquette; from the eyes, lest she should be addicted to ogling; from the ears or mouth, lest she should be a prattler and a listener; from the heart, lest she should be jealous; or from the feet or hands, lest she should ramble about too much, and be inclined to pilfering: he therefore formed her of a rib, and notwithstanding his precautions, she possesses all those vices which he wished to keep her free from. This description will perhaps appear so just, says Basnage, that we shall be inclined not to rank it among the number of visions; we ought rather to believe that the doctors wished to express a truth in figurative language.

(16) *Cardeño las Excelencias*, &c. *El marido que honra á su muger, honra á sí propio, que es hechura de su carne y su costilla.\**

(17) B.

(18) The *Cofri* is a polemical treatise on religion, especially the Jewish, by the Rabbi Juda Levi, who flourished about the middle of the 12th century. We are indebted to him for a very pathetic elegy, in which he deploras the destruction of Jerusalem. The reader will, no doubt, thank Mr. Bing for having translated it, and us for inserting it here, with the addition of a few notes. This lyric production will, above all, please those who are fond of the pomp of the eastern style, who are acquainted with the value of the word *country* among the ancients, and the enthusiasm of the Jews for that beloved city which was the centre of their religious and political government. "Sion, hast thou forgot thy unfortunate children who languish in slavery? Hast thou effaced from thy remembrance the remains of those innocent flocks which formerly sported in thy peaceful meads? Art thou insensible to the vows which they address to thee from every quarter into which the merciless ravager has dispersed them?"

\* The husband that honors his wife honors himself, because she is his rib and part of his flesh.

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[ 281 ]

"Dost thou despise those of a slave who, in his chains, dares to entertain hope, and whose tears in abundance equal that of the dew which fertilises Mount Hermon? Still happy could he shed them on thy deserted mountains."

"His hope, however, is not yet annihilated; at present, whilst I sigh over thy wrongs, my plaintive accents resemble the screams of the dismal birds of night. Shall a ray of hope strike my imagination? Shall my soul be the instrument of joy, to chant hymns and songs of praise?"

"Bethel, how the remembrance of thee rends my heart! thy sanctuary, where the divine Majesty appeared to every eye, where the azure gates of heaven were never shut."

"Where a ray of the glory of the Most High eclipsed the star of day and the luminous orbs of the night."

"Why cannot I pour forth this oppressed heart in sighs, where thy spirit, Almighty God, diffused itself over the elect of thy people?"

"Bare mortals, this place is holy, it is consecrated to the eternal Ruler of heaven and of earth; but bare and rash slaves have dared to pollute it."\*

"Why cannot I on rapid wings cleave the vast expanse of heaven?—With a heart torn by grief I would stray midst the confused heaps of thy ruins."

"There my trembling knees should fail under me; my forehead should repose on thy dust; I would embrace thy stones, and my lips should kiss thy ashes."

"Shall I be less sensibly affected at the tombs of my ancestors, and when my eyes are eagerly fixed on Hebron, which contains the most respectable of monuments?"†

"There, in thy atmosphere, I should breathe air as pure as æther; thy dust should be dearer to me than perfume, and thy torrents more agreeable to me than riviulets of honey."

\* It was at Bethel that Jacob saw the mysterious ladder, and it was there that he exclaimed—How awful is this place! this is the house of God and the gates of heaven. Gen. ch. 28.

† The tombs of Abraham, Sarah and Isaac, in the cave of Macpelah, near Hebron.

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[ 282 ]

"Disfigured, and without ornaments, I would traverse these desolated spots where superb palaces formerly reared their fronts."

"I would visit those where the earth opened to receive the ark of the covenant\* and thy cherubims, in order that the wicked might not seize it with their sacrilegious hands, still tinged with the blood of thy children."

"There would I tear my scattered locks of hair, and the imprecations I would send forth against the day that shone upon thy destruction, would be a *savage* consolation to my despair."

"What other, alas! can I enjoy whilst I see famished dogs contending for the still palpitating limbs of thy heroes?"

"I abhor the day, its light is odious to me, it enables me to see the crows making a repast on the carcases of thy princes."

"Cup of bitterness—Fatal cup!—I already regorge thy nauseous liquor:—Ah! suffer me to breathe yet once more. I will fasten my eyes with this dismal spectacle. Yet once more will I think of thee, Oolla—of thee, Oliba†—and then will I swallow even thy very dregs."

"Arouse from thy lethargy, queen of cities! Awaken, O Sion, behold the inviolable and tender friendship of thy faithful adorers!"

"They sigh for thy misfortunes, they bleed still for thy wounds: the hope of seeing thee happily revive is the only tie that binds them to life; from the bottom of their dungeons their hearts fly towards thee, and when they bend the knee before the Eternal, their heads are inclined towards thy gates."

\* Almost all critics, both Christians and Jews, agree that there was no ark in the second temple. Jeremiah, foreseeing the misfortunes of the country, hid it (Macc. B. II. ch. 2) in a cavern of Mount Nebo, &c. A Rabbinical tradition adds that the rock opened to receive it, and that it never again appeared.

† These are the names of those two famous sisters whom Ezekiel makes use of to mark out Samaria and Jerusalem. See Ezekiel, chap. 23.

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[ 283 ]

"O heavenly country!—Can the proud Babylon, with all its grandeur, equal thee? Can its deceitful oracles be compared to thy divine prophets?"

"The pomp of idols is but empty smoke, their power is as frail as themselves; but thou, O Sion! shalt endure for ever."

"For the God of the universe delights to be adored within thy walls; happy is he who shall be numbered among thy inhabitants."

"Happy he who sincerely desires it! when thou shalt arise like Aurora, to dissipate the darkness that surrounds thee, thy mild light shall reach even to him."

"He will behold thee arise more beautiful and radiant; he will share in the delights reserved for thy elect."

# C H A P. XXVI.

(1) Lettres sur différens sujets, écrites pendant le cours d'un voyage, par M. Jean Bernoulli. Berlin, 1777.

## OBSERVATIONS on the Establishment and Population of the JEWS at METZ.

THE establishment of the Jews in that city is as old as the year 888, since at that epoch Gombert, the dean, brought some complaints against them. Siebert de Gemblours taught there in the 12th century with such success that the Jews even ran to hear his lessons. In 1365 or 1366 they were expelled, and the year following four families obtained there the right of naturalization, by the interest of Marshal de Vieilleville, Governor of the city. In the following table, extracted partly from the public papers of the province, one may trace their progressive increase in it.

	Families,
In 1367	4
Towards the end of the reign of Henry III.	8
	In

[ 284 ]

	Families.
In 1603	24
Forming, in all, 120 individuals	
In 1614	38
In 1624	76
In 1637	96
In 1684 Metz contained 20,710 inhabitants, of whom 4381 were Protestants, and 795 Jews.	
In 1715, 300, and as many families.	
In 1718	480 families.
And then they were limited to that number, which has decreased.	
In 1788	410 or 420 families,
including strangers, forming 1865 individuals, according to an enumeration made February the 26th, 1788.	

	Livres	Sous	Den.
The Jews of Metz pay annually to the family of Brancas	20,000		
Of capitation	9688	1	
For industry	7706	7	6
For the twentieth part of their houses—they occupy about 170	3455		
To the hospital	50		
For a pension to the vicar of St. Segolene	200		
For lodging soldiers	500		
Total	41,599	8	6

Making about 1733l. 5s. 10d. Sterling.

About 8000 livres are received from 1500 Jews, dispersed throughout the generality as an annuity due to the Brancas; but if we consider that presents given on the commencement of the new year, &c. may amount to 8000 livres, the sum total of the impost remains entire. Then come the internal expences of the community and synagogue, considerable rents to be paid for sunk capitals, &c. &c. &c. It is not enquired whether a Jew ought to live and be clothed and fed with his numerous family; burthenome expences weigh down his misery, and fear stifles his grief.

The

[ 285 ]

The Jews of Metz, for about 60 years, have kept registers of their births, marriages, and burials. I should have been extremely glad to have searched the whole, and to have made out tables of mortality in order to obtain points of comparison with the tables formed by Mr. Wargentin, in Sweden, Mr. Marcovelle, at Thoulouze, Father le Cotte, at Montmorency, &c. I should have even been glad to calculate the number of twin and triple births, violent and sudden deaths, and the duration of lives. I am however happy in being able to say that the syndics of the Jewish community very politely gratified my curiosity.

But registers are exceedingly imperfect; there are omissions in them, and they seldom mention the age of the deceased, so that very often one cannot distinguish the young from the old; and if one founded a genealogy on these registers, it would be impossible to follow the degrees of descent. Records of this nature deserve the attention of the civil government, and it is of the highest importance to the Jews, above all, that they should have a precedent analogous to those which we follow, and that they should be obliged besides to make out a register of those who obtain divorces.

Being desirous of laying nothing before the public but what is founded on truth, I have confined myself to an estimate of the births and deaths of both males and females, of which I give a table for the course of thirty-two years, and of marriages for twenty-four. These years do not follow each other successively, but they run from 1740 to the present time. I must also observe that my table does not consist of columns corresponding to the years, but of three columns which correspond with the months.



[ 286 ]

MONTHS.	BIRTHS.	BURIALS.	MARRIAGES.
January	249	189	36
February	191	169	50
March	225	195	47
April	181	204	2
May	217	213	18
June	219	182	31
July	197	182	27
August	218	200	41
September	218	234	20
October	242	243	28
November	214	176	54
December	213	178	38
Total.	2584	2377	382

By calculating the duration of going with child, an attempt has been made to determine the time most proper for fecundation; but hitherto few data have been obtained. In Sweden, the month most abundant in births, is September, and the least abundant is June.

At Paris and Montmorency, the month most abundant in births, is March, and the least abundant is June. At Thouloufe, the most fruitful months are January, October and November, the least fruitful are June and July.

In my table there is a point of comparison with Thouloufe: the most fruitful months are January and October, the least fruitful February and April. The difference in number between the most and the least fruitful is sixty-eight.

The total of births. Boys - - - - 1348  
Girls - - - - 1235

2584

which is 113 boys more than girls, or a twenty-third part. This differs from the observation of Mr. D'Expilly, according to whom, the excess of male births is a thirteenth part, others say a sixteenth; but the constitution and regimen of the Jewish people may occasion considerable differences.

2584 births in thirty-two years give *annis communibus* near 81; and the Jewish community of Metz, being composed of 1865 individuals, according to the enumeration of February 23d, 1788, there

[ 287 ]

there will be a birth for every twenty-three persons: generally one is reckoned for every twenty-five.

The sum total of deaths is, Men and Boys 1219  
Women and Girls 1158

which is sixty-one men and boys more than women and girls: so that there are two hundred and seven births more than deaths; but the excess of births will appear much greater, if we consider that foreign Jews and strangers often die in the hospital of the community, and that still oftener the Jews of the generality, and even of Lorraine, who have not yet a burying ground, are buried in that of Metz.

2377 deaths in thirty two years give *annis communibus* seventy-three deaths, (I omit the fractions) and for 1865 individuals, one for twenty-five and a half; but we must here apply also the observation which we have made respecting the foreign Jews interred at Metz. At Montmorency the most fatal month is March, and the least fatal is June. At Thouloufe the most fatal are August, September and October, the least fatal February, March and April. We still find a new point of comparison with Thouloufe in our table, where the most fatal months are September and October, and the least fatal February and November. The mean difference is 74.

In twenty-four years, 382 marriages give about sixteen annually, and in 1865 individuals one for every hundred and sixteen.

The months most abundant in marriages, are February and November; the least abundant April, May and July. The mean difference is 52. In April and May, that is to say, the interval from Easter to Whitunday, marriages are prohibited except on two particular days.

*Nota.* For four or five years past, some young Jews at Berlin have printed a journal in Hebrew, which is circulated among their nation, and even among that of others. In this work they have addressed a very pathetic letter to their brethren enrolled in the Imperial army. In the eyes of the synagogue these literary men are guilty of an atrocious crime; for it is a heinous offence

[ 288 ]

to doubt of the infallibility of the Rabbis, and to pretend that physical, mathematical studies, &c. can at least be as useful as certain tedious and disgusting discussions in the Talmud. Already they have been honored with the hatred of dunces, and the clamour of the envious; but if the synagogue has pronounced sentence against them, they are acquitted at the bar of reason. They will contribute towards the reformation of their people, And this, perhaps, is the dawn of a glorious and happy day.

FINIS.

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